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THE PROBLEM OF TWO KŌPPERUÑJIṄGAS

BY K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

THE pretty long reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga from A.D. 1242-3 to A.D. 1279 and his figuring in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of A.D. 1232 and in another of Rājarāja III two years still earlier may lead one to enquire if there was only one king of that name or more than one. This question had been taken up for consideration by late Mr. V. Venkayya in reviewing the Tripurāntakam inscription of Mahārājasiṁha. Having said that "Mahārājasiṁha, who bore the surnames *Avanyavanyasambhava*, *Sarvajñakhaḍgamalla* and *Niśśaṅkamalla*, must be identical with the *Kāḍava* (*i.e.* Pallava) *Avaniyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga*" he enunciated the probable objection in these words: "It is not absolutely certain if there was only one chief or more than one with the name Kōpperuñjiṅga, and therefore, it is difficult to decide if Mahārājasiṁha was the same as that Kōpperuñjiṅga, who was originally a subordinate of that Cōḷa king Rājarāja III, but subsequently rebelled against him and declared himself independent."[1] This enunciation has been generally misunderstood in several quarters. In an attempt to solve this

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 161.

difficult problem, he took up the evidence furnished in six inscriptions—one of Tripurāntakam, four of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and one of Drākṣārāma—and considered them along with the Tiruvēndipuram inscription and concluded by saying "It may, therefore, be presumed that this Kōpperuñjiṅga is identical with the Mahārājasiṁha of the Drākṣārāma and Tripurāntakam inscriptions". For (1) the Tripurāntakam inscription of Mahārājasiṁha calls him the son of Jīyamahīpati, and gives him the title *Niśśaṅka-malla*, (2) Jīyamahīpati, according to him, is the same as the Tamil Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ which is found prefixed to that of Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga in some (three) of his Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscriptions [2], Mahārājasiṁha must be identical with Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga and (3) the fourth inscription [3] found at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, belonging to the time of Sakalabhuvanachakravarti Kūḍal Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga who bore the titles 'protector of *Mallai* and *Niśśaṅkamalla*', also proves Kōpperuñjiṅga's identity with Mahārājasiṁha of the Tripurāntakam inscription who has been shown to have had the title *Niśśaṅkamalla*. Mr. Venkayya has not only established the identity of the Kōpperuñjiṅga of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscriptions with the Mahārājasiṁha of the Tripurāntakam and Drākṣārāma inscriptions but has gone further and pointed out that the *biruda* "The sun to the lotus tank of the Cōḻa family" applied to the king in the Tripurāntakam inscription has reference to the early part of the career of Kōpperuñjiṅga: this clearly shows that Mr. Venkayya's finding was that the Mahārājasiṁha of the Sanskrit inscriptions and Kōpperuñjiṅga of the Tamil inscriptions are the same as the Kōpperuñjiṅga referred to in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription.

We have mentioned in the previous paragraph that Mr. Venkayya had equated Mahārājasiṁha with Kōpperuñjiṅga, and his father Jīyamahīpati with Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ. He has given three inscriptions where the name Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga occurs and states that in them the name Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ is found prefixed to that of Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga and marking the title Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ in italics. In the last

2. Nos. 489, 512 & 518 of 1902.
3. No. 480 of 1902.

clause he clearly calls Aḷagiyaśiyaṉ and Kōpperuñjiṅga as names. All students of epigraphy know that in double names the first name denotes the name of the father and the second that of the son. He has not equated Jīyamahīpati with the double name Aḷagiyśiyaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga but only with the prefixed Aḷagiyas'īyaṉ. No one with any critical taste would venture to foist into his statement a conclusion which Mr. Venkayya had not arrived at, nay, was positively against.

In the attempt to make two Kōpperuñjiṅgas, certain statements have been made in quarters they are least expected, which are far from correct and prejudical to its cause. These will now be noted. In the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1918 we find the following :—

(1) "In his Annul Report on Epigraphy for 1906 page 63, Mr. Venkayya has identified Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga with the father of Mahārājasiṁha *i.e.* Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ or Kūḍal Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga"

(2) "In the Annual Report of Epigraphy for 1906 page 63. Mahārājasiṁha of the Tripurāntakam record has been identified with Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga".

These statements are not quite accurate. Mr. Venkayya had only pointed out that the name Jīyamahīpti given to the father of Mahārājasiṁha might be the same as Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ found prefixed to Kōpporuñjiṅga and the latter had been shown by him already to be the equivalent of Mahārājasiṁha. If it be said that Mr. Venkayya had identified Jīyamahīpati with Aḷagiyaśiyaṉ, it will be correct; it will also be correct to say that Mr. Venkayya has identified Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga with Jīyamahīpti's son Mahārājasiṁha, Aḷagiyaśīyaṉ being equivalent with Jīyamahīpati and Kōpperuñjiṅga being equivalent with Mahārājasiṁha. It is to be noted that Mr. Venkayya has not identified Aḷagīyaśīyaṉ Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga with the father of Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ or Kūḍal Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga. The second quotation, to be right, must stand as follows:—Mahārājasiṁha of the Tripurānatakam and Drākṣārāma inscriptions has been identified with Kōpperuñjiṅga or Kūḍala Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ Kōpperuñjiṅga occurring in certain Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscriptions whose numbers he has cited and with the Kōpperuñjiṅga mentioned in the

Tiruvēndipuram inscription. In the Annual Report for 1922 we read :—"It has been suggested that there might have been two Kōpperuñjiṅgas related to one another as father and son, and that the younger was, perhaps, to be identified with Mahārājasiṁha of the Tripurāntakam inscription, A. R. for 1906. p. 64" and "Aḷagiya-s'īyaṉ whose relationship to the ruling king is not mentioned in No. 285, must have been a son of Mahārājasiṁha *alias* Kōppe-ruñjiṅga".

Though the credit of having raised the question whether there was only one or more than one king of the name Kōpperuñjiṅga belongs to Mr. Venkayya, he had not suggested or postulated that there may have been two Kōpperuñjiṅgas related to one another as father and son and that the younger had perhaps to be identified with Mahārājasiṁha of the Tripurāntakam inscription. We have shown above that Mr. Venkayya had assigned the Tripurāntakam, Drākṣārāma and four Tiruvaṇṇāmalai inscriptions to one Kōpperuñjiṅga whose attitude to the Cōḷas in earlier times than the date of the Tiruvēndipuram record, according to Mr. Venkayya, finds mention in the epithet 'the sun to the lotus tank of the Cōḷa family'.[4]

II

The theory of the existence of two kings bearing the same name Kōpperuñjiṅga continued to be held possible by some scholars because an earlier reference to that chief is found in a thirty-fifth year inscription of Kulōttuṅga III,[5] and because the last known regnal year for that chief is thirty-six equal to A.D. 1279-80. As such it is argued that if there were not two Kōpperuñjiṅgas, the interval between A.D. 1214 and A.D. 1279-80 would be an unusual length and the gap would be too wide for the active life of a single king. But then, against this objection it has to be said that the record under reference does not refer to Kōpperuñjiṅga as ruling, but mentions him only because his mother (name portion in the record lost) had to be referred. The mention of Kōpperuñjiṅga's mother does not preclude the possibility of Kōpperuñjiṅga having been a youth, and as was his father, friendly and subordinate to the Cōḷas.

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4. A. R. on Ep. for 1906. p. 64.
5. No. 487 of 1921.

Further a long period of about sixty-six years is not uncommon and this period, it may be noted, is not the length of the chief's rule, but includes also nearly thirty years of early life. These can but indicate that the chief lived to a considerable age like Nandivarman Pallavamalla of his own dynasty and Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga of the Eastern Gaṅga line. Thus this phenomenon does not warrant the idea of the necessity of the existence of two chiefs.

In the attempts made to establish the reign of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas it has been concluded that the earlier of the two had been distinguished by the name Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ and that the first feature of his reign was that his latest regnal year was sixteen [6]. Since the later of the two is definitely known to have ascended in A.D. 1243, and to have reigned for thirty-six years, if any record having for Kōpperuñjiṅga the name Aḻagiyaśīyaṉ and bearing a date later than the sixteenth year is found, then it must be admitted that the theory of the existence of two Kopperuñjiṅgas is highly improbable. Nos. 517, 518 and 489 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1902, copied at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, are dated in the twenty-seventh and the thirty-first years of the reign of Sakalabhuvaṉachakravartigaḷ Kāḍavaṉ Aḻagiyas'īyaṉ Avaṉiyāḷappiraṅdāṉ S'ri Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva. This name of the king is uniformly given in all the three records. The high regnal years twenty-seven and thirty-one are themselves sufficient to show that the records undoubtedly belong to Kōpperuñjiṅga of accesion date A.D. 1243; and coupled with the fact that the king is called Aḻagiyas'īyaṉ, they leave nothing to be desired. The three records thus prove beyond doubt that the arguments for the reign of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas stand self-condemned.

Further the identification of a Kōpperuñjiṅga with Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ and thus making him the first of that name does not seem to be justified. There are numerous references to Māṇavāḷapperumāḷ ranging from A.D. 1191 to A.D. 1215 which take care to mention all the other names of the chief. The conspicuous absence of the

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6. *Villiyanūr Epigraph* No. 186 of 1936-7 ; *Ep. Ind*. Vol. XXIII. p. 176 ; *Ibid* Vol. XXIV. p. 27. f n. 1 : *A. R*. 1936-7, p. 73 ; *Journal of Madras University* Vol. XII. p, 99 and *A.R*. for 1937-8 p. 88. My note on the Villiyaṉūr Epigrapth will be published separately.

names Aḻagiyaśiyaṉ and Kōpperuñjiṅga, both in the numerous records which unmistakably mention Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ who is said to have been identical with the first king, and in the Sēndamaṅgalam inscription of his fifth year of reign, is decisive proof to show that Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ did not bear the royal name Kōpperuñjiṅga and consequently that there was only one chief of that name.

Yet another view among scholars who opine that there existed two kings,is that Kōpperuñjiṅga (II) was the son of Kōpperuñjiṅga (I) and that he was identical with Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ[7]. The sole authority for this view is the Tiruvṇṇāmalai record[8]. This view is also untenable for the reasons that Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ figures in the records of Rājarāja III dated as early as A.D. 1246 and in the records of his father which are dated in A.D. 1277-8 and 1279-80. He was issuing the orders of Kōpperuñjiṅga (Accn. A.D. 1243) in the latter part of his reign. Thus it is *prima facia* clear that this view cannot gain any weight.

A new argument to prove the rule of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas has recently been advanced[9]. An inscription from Chidambaram[10] is said to provide the necessary clue to the solution. The whole argument stands thus: "This inscription, dated in the 19th year of Sakalabhuvaṇachakravartiṉ. Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, refers to a flower garden called, 'S'okkachīyaṉkamugu-tirunandavaṇaṁ' formed at Bhūpālaśundaranallūr situated in Vēśālippāḍipaṟṟu. In the concluding portion this inscription is directed to be engraved on the same wall where the original gift of *this* garden was recorded in the 15th year of *Periyadēvar*. Fortunately the very same 15th year record is found on the identical wall indicated above (A.R. No. 461 of 1902); it refers to the same garden called 'Sokkachchīyaṉ-kamugutirunandavaṇam'; its extent of 63 and odd *mā* of land is also reiterated, and what is more to our point, the record itself belongs to Sakalabhuvaṇachakravartiṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, who can be no other than the *Periyadēvar* mentioned in the other record. The most important facts gleaned from the present inscription are that the elder chief was also known as Kōpperuñji-

7. *A.R.* for 1913. p. 126-7; *Hindu Sept.* 12, 1937. p. 10.
8. No. 480 of 1902.
9. *Journal of the Madras University*. Vol. XII. p. 99.
10. No. 100 of 1934-5.

ṅgadēva, that he had the title Śakalabhuvaṉachakravartiṉ and that he had an independent rule of 16 years. This S'okkachchiyan-kamugutirunandavaṉam referred to above which is definitely known to have heen formed in the 15th year of *Periyadēvar* (Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva I) is again mentioned in a 3rd year record (A. R. No. 465 of 1902) of Sakalabhuvaṉachakravartiṉ Kōpperuñj-ingadēva who must be identified with Kōpperñjiṅgadēva II".

Before examining the inferences made above we shall note down the contents of the inscriptions cited in the argument.

(I)

No. 465 of 1902. On the north wall of the second *prākāra* of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram.

Hail ! Prosperity ! (This is) the order (*ōlai*) of S'ōḻakōṉ (issued in) the 3rd year and 81st day (of the reign) of S'akalabhuvaṉacha-kravartigaḷ Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ *alias* S'ri Kōpperuñjiṉgadēva, (addressed to and) seen or registered and passed or released by (the officials) Teṉṉavaṉ Bramamārāyaṉ, Madhurāntaka Viḻupparaiyar, (temple officials) supervisors (Kaṉkāṉiśeyvār), persons in charge of the S'rīkārya and Samudāya, Kōyilnāyagam, and Tiru-uṉṉāḻigai-kkūṟu, the ledger-keepers of the treasury (paṇḍārappottagamuḍaiyār), attached to the Śiva temple of Uḍaiyār Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyār. In pursuance of the receipt of the S'rīmukha from the king (*dēvar*) bearing his royal signature (containing the order) that for the purpose of planting trees etc., in the garden called Āḷiyār-tiruttōppu, formed in the western side Vikramasiṅgapura, fifty men should be employed and that at the rate of 2 *mā* per head 100 *mā* of land should be caused to be assigned from among the fields to which irrigation is obtained from etc.; from the 3rd year and month of *Āṇi* fifty persons consisting of 48 men and 2 supervisors should be employed for the garden called by the name Āḷiyār-tiruttōppu. For the food and clothing of these men, just as the men employed in the (garden called) Śokkachchīyaṉ-kamugutirunandavaṉam are getting, the 2 supervisors shall receive etc.—details of the rate—For the amount of paddy thus required the 100 *mā* of land assigned in this village should be leased and given. Let this be engraved in this wise on (the wall called) Kulōttungaṅśōḻa Tirumāḷigaippuṟavāyil.

This is engraved on stone in accordance with the above order bearing the signature of Śōḻakōṉ.

(II)

No. 467 of 1902. In the same place.

Hail ! Prosperity ! (This is) the order (*ōlai*) of Śōḻakōṉ (issued in) the 16th year and 262nd day (of the reign) of Sakalabhuvaṇa-chakravartigaḷ Śri Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva (addressed to and) seen or registered and passed or released by (the officers and temple officials mentioned in I). In pursuance of the receipt of the Śrīmukha from the king (*dēvar*) bearing his royal signature (containing the order) that the 6918 *kalam* 2 *tūṇi* 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy from the 247 *mā* and ½ *kāṇi* of land let in this village for the (provision of) food and clothing to the 100 men, comprising of 95 men and 5 supervisors, engaged in the making of this garden (called) S'okkachchīyaṉ-kamugu tirunandavaṉam in Pūvālai, in the Vēśālippāḏipaṟṟu, to the goddess and the temple, shall be tax-free inclusive of *antarāyam* (and) *pāṭṭam*, from the 15th year and 262nd day. For having made the 247 *mā* and ½ *kāṇi* of land (location cited) assigned for the provision of food and clothing of the 100 men employed in the garden made after the royal name S'okkacchīyaṉ and measuring 63 *mā* 3 *kāṇi* and ¾ *kīḻ* in extent and situated in (specified) at the rate (specified), tax-free inclusive of etc. from the 15th year and 262nd day etc. let it be engraved on the wall called Kulōttuṅgs'ōḻa Tirumāḷigai-ppuṟavāyil. This is engraved on stone in accordance with the above order bearing the signature of S'ōḻakōṉ.

(III)

No. 103 of 1934/5 (No, 215 of S. I. I. Vol. XII). In the same place.

Hail ! Prosperity ! (This is) the order (*ōlai*) of S'ōḻakōṉ (issued in) the 19th year (of the reign) of Sakalabhuvaṇachakravartigaḷ Avaṉiyāḷappirandāṉ *alias* Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, (addressed to and) seen or registered and passed or released by (the officers and temple officials mentioned as in I and II above). In pursuance of the receipt of the *Śrīmukha* of the king (*dēvar*) containing the order, that as the 63 *mā* 3 *kāṇi* and ¾ *kīḻ* of land of the garden called S'okka-chchīyaṉ-kamugu-tirunandaṉavaṉam, formed in Bhūpālasundara-s'ōḻanallur in Vēśalippādipaṟṟu to the goddess and temple was found

to measure 16 *mā* ½ *kāṇi* 1 *mundirigai* ¼ *kīḻ* in excess in the (portion of land) which formed the *S'uṟṟukkulai* of this garden, when measured by the measuring rod called after S'okkachchīyaṉ, let the tax in *kās'u* assessed to be due as *kaḍamai* from this land till the 18th (year) be remitted, and let this (excess) land be included within the (land of the) sacred garden, and let this be caused to be engraved in the Tirumāḷigai, having filed this S'rīmukha in the treasury (where orders) bearing the royal signature (are kept) and having in accordance with the S'rimukha included 16 *mā* ½ *kāṇi* 1 *mundirigai* ¼ *kīḻ* of land measured in excess, making the 80 *mā* of land as the sacred garden, let it be caused to be engraved in the same place, where a record relating to this sacred garden dated in the 15th year of *Periyadēvar* was formerly engraved in the Tirumāḷigai. This is engraved on stone in accordance with the above order bearing the signature of S'ōḷakōṉ.

Before considering the new argument cited above, a word must be said on the dating of the inscriptions I and II. They are dated in year 3 and 81st day and year 16 and 262nd day. This means that they are dated in 4th and 17th years of the king and not in the 3rd and 16th years as some would have it. The expressions of the inscription are not *mūṉṟāvdil nāḷ eṇbattoṉṟu* and *padiṉārāvadil nāḷ irunūṟṟarubattiraṇḍu* but *yāṇḍu mūṉṟāvadu nāḷ eṇbattoṉṟu* etc.

The very form of these three records would show that they are dated in the years of the reigning king Kōpperuñjiṅga, and contain the orders of S'ōḷakōṉ to certain officers and temple officials concerned. They (after) having read and recorded them in registers passed them on to the engraver who engraved them on the specified wall of the temple in accordance with the orders of S'ōḷakōṉ issued under his signature. In these cases the orders (*ōlai*) of S'ōḷakōṉ were despatched to officials, accountants etc. concerned, only in pursuance of the royal command contained in the *S'rīmukha* or *Tirumugam* from the king (*dēvar*) to S'ōḷakōṉ, and to which reference is expressly made in these records.

It is therefore clear that any reference to an individual or the action of an individual found in the body of these orders issued by

S'ōḷakōṉ, must only be taken as a reference by S'ōḷakōṉ to that individual or action, and definitely not as a reference directly made by the king himself. Thus the reference to *Periyadēvar* in inscription III is made by S'ōḷakōṉ and not by the king (*dēvar*). The king does not make this reference, as is evident from the contents of the *S'rīmukha* cited in the earlier part of the order of S'ōḷakōṉ. It is a respectful reference by S'ōḷakōṉ. To whom does he refer ? To understand this, a list of the inscriptions wherein this term is found used, is given below.

1. No. 228 of 1923 Rājak, *alias* Vijayarājēndradēva. 35th year. Refers to the 28th year of *Periyadēvar* who was pleased to take *Pūrvadēśam Gaṅgai* and *Kiḍāram.*

2. No. 7 of 1925 Tribh. Parak. 17th year. Refers to the 5th year of *Periyadēvar* Kulōttuṅgas'ōḷa.

3. No. 83 of 1920 Kulōttuṅga. 2nd year. Refers to Kulōttuṅga I as *Periyadēvar* 'the abolisher of tolls'

4. No. 90 of 1920 Rājarāja II. 6th year. Refers to *Periyadēvar* Rājarāja (I)

5. No. 433 of 1924 Rājādhirāja II. Refers to *Periyadēvar* Rājarājadēvar (II) *Periyadēvar-tuñji-aruḷi.*

6. No. 418 of 1912 Rājādhirāja II. Refers toa transaction made in the 6th year of *Periyadēvar* Vikramachōḷadēva.

7. No. 65 of 1913 Kulōttuṅga III. 11th year and 175th day. Refers to the 5th and 10th years of *Periyadēvar* Kulūottuṅgacōḷa-dēva in whose time the Tirukkaṉṉapuram temple came into existence.

8. No. 490 of 1922 Kullōttuṅga III. Refers to the 9th year of *Periyadēvar* Rājādhirājadēvar (II).

9. No. 143 of 1895 Rājarāja III. Mentions an image set up in the 37th year of *Periyadēvar* Tribhuvaṉavīra *i.e.* Kulōttuṅga III.

10. No. 643 of 1902 Rājarāja III. 7th year and 170th day. Refers to the 39th year of *Periradēvar.*

11. No. 277 of 1925 Rājarāja III. 8th year. For the merit of *Periyadēvar.*

12. No. 393 of 1902 Rājarāja III. 11th year. Refers to *Periya-dēvar* Rājādhirājadēvar (II).

13. No. 409 of 1908 Rājarāja III. 11th year. Refers to the 39th year of *Periyadēvar* Tribhuvanavīra *i.e.* Kulōttuṅga III.

14. No. 406 of 1925 Rājarāja III. 20th year. Refers to the 39th year of *Periyadēvar*.

15. No. 471 of 1912 Rājarāja III. Refers to the 24th year of *Periyadēvar*.

16. No. 216 of 1908 Rājēndracōḷa. III 28th year. Refers to the Revenue survey of the 38th year of *Periyadēvar* Tribhuvaṉa-vīradēva *i.e.* Kulōttuṅga III.

From these instances it is clear that *Periyadēvar* is a term of reverence used in inscriptions to indicate a king of the line who ruled previously. It is found applicable to the father, grandfather, or even a king of some generations before. No instance of the use of the word for denoting the previous king of another dynasty has so far been obtained. In such instances the names of kings are mentioned but without any such term as '*Periyadēvar*.' It does not seem to have been employed with reference to the ruling king himself. In such cases the term '*dēvar*'. is used. Thus the distinction brought out in the records by the usage of the words '*dēvar*' and '*Periyadēvar*' is clear and definite; that is '*dēvar*' denoted the ruling king and '*Periyadēvar*' denoted the king who had ruled previously. In inscription III above, both the terms have been employed. That Rājarāja III could not have been intended by the term '*Periyadēvar*' in this inscription is plain from the foregoing examples and by the fact that in his fifteenth year he was a prisoner of Kōpperuñjiṅga in Sēndamaṅgalam. Thus *Periyadēvar* referred to in this inscription must therefore have reference to a king who belonged to Peruñjiṅga's line and ruled previously. Since we know that Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ was the only predecessor of Peruñjiṅga who assumed regal powers, it is clear that *Periyadēvar* refers to him alone. Thus from inscription III it is plain that Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ, had ruled for fifteen years or more, and that in his fifteenth year a gift of land sixty-three and odd *mā* in extent, had been made for the formation of a garden '*kamugu-tirunandavaṉam*' to be named after S'okkachchiyaṉ.

In the new argument it is said that the second inscription (II) is the fifteenth year record referred to in inscription III. This is clearly wrong, because,

(i) Inscription II does not belong to the reign of Sakalabhuvaṉachakravartiṉ Maṉavāḷapperumāḷ,

(ii) Inscription II is dated in the seventeenth year (Year 16 and 262nd day) and definitely not in the fifteenth year referred to in inscription III,

and (iii) this record does not concern itself with the original gift or formation of the separate piece of garden '*S'okkachchīyaṉ-kamugu-tirunandavaṉam*', but is concerned only with the freedom from tax including *antarāya* etc. of the 247 and odd *mā* of land that had been independently assigned for the provision of food and clothing to men engaged in the formation-work of the said garden.

There is no point in stating that the extent and details of the garden are reiterated in inscription II. It is usually the case.

The original gift of the garden had been made in the fifteenth year of Sakalabhuvaṉacakravartiṉ Maṉavāḷapperumāḷ, and the record pertaining to this had been engraved in the Tirumāḷigai. This record has not yet been traced, and it has been shown above that it is not inscription II.

It is only in conformity with the inference made above that we find in inscription I an indirect reference to this very garden. From it we learn that this garden had been endowed before the third year of the king and that it was in the formation. Beyond this the reference cannot lead us. Thus we see that the three inscriptions do not lead to the existence of two kings. On the other hand all the three records are uniform and belong only to one king Sakalabhuvaṉachakravartiṉ Avaṉṉiyāḷappirandāṉ K ppe-ruñjiṅgadēva and prove the existence of one Kōpperuñjiṅga only.

The instructions for engraving the orders in the specified place is aimed at having as far as possible the public records pertaining to particular endowments or grants in one place and can be compared to our modern method of filing connected documents in one file.

Since the document evidencing the excess in measuremen and its incorporation in the original extent of the garden, in the nineteenth year of resettlement should be near the document evidencing the original gift of the garden mentioning its original

extent of land, it was ordered to be engraved beside the fifteenth year record in the Tirumāḷigai.

In brief, the three inscriptions give us the following idea about the garden. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Sakalabhuvaṉa-cakravartiṉ Maṉavāḷapperumāḷ which was before the third year of the reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga, *i. e.*, before A. D. 1245/6 a plot of land in Pūvālai or Bhūpālaśundaraśōḻanallūr in Vēśālippāḍipaṟṟu and which comprised of portions from Pūndamaṅgalam in S'iṟupālaiyūr, a dēvadāna in Aḷanāḍu in Kuṟiñji, a sub-division of Vēśālippāḍi-nāḍu, Tāmaraiyāṉpāḍi *alias* Vēlaṅganpaṭṭu, a dēvadāna in Aḷanāḍu in Kuṟiñji, a sub-division of Rājādhirāja-vaḷanāḍu, and the western bank of Veḷḷāṟu, measuring 63 *mā*, 3 *kāni*, ¾ *kīḻ* in extent, was made tax-fee and assigned for the purpose of forming a palm-grove or arecanut-garden to the temple and the goodess of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam, and was called S'ōkkachchīyaṉ-kamugu-tirunandavaṉam after the name S'okkachchīyaṉ. This plot included *kamugutarai i.e.* land for planting areca-trees, and *śuṟṟukkulai*, *i.e.* surrounding land used either for planting a row of palmyra or coconut trees or to be left blank as a boundary. For converting this plot of land into the garden 100 men were engaged among whom 5 were supervisors (*nāyagam*) and the rest were labourers. For the food, *koṟṟu*, and clothing, *puḍavai*, or *ilakkai*, of these men the following rate was allowed. The supervisors were given 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per head per day for food and 3 *kāśu* per head per year for clothing, and the ordinary labourers were allowed 1 *padakku* of paddy per head per day for food and 2 *kāśu* per head per year for clothing. This was also the rate allowed for the labourers and supervisors engaged in the formation of the grove called Āḷiyārtiru-ttōppu, begun in the third year of Kōpperuñjiṅga. In order to meet the cost of the allowances to the men engaged in the garden S'okkachchīyaṉ-kamugu-tirunandavaṉam, a plot of land measuring 257 *mā*, ½ *kāṇi* situated in Bhūpālasundaraśōḻanallūr in the eastern side of Jayangoṇḍaśōḻa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam of Vēśālippāḍipaṟṟu had been leased for 6919 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku* of paddy. This was made free of tax including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*, from the fifteenth year and 262 day of Kōpperuñjiṅga's reign. A resurvey with the measuring rod called S'okkachchīyaṉ was conducted in

the eighteenth year of the reign of this king, as a result of which the extent of the portion of this garden forming its *śuṟṟukkuli* was found to measure 16 *mā*, ½ *kāṇi*, 1 *mundirigai*, ¼ *kīḻ* in excess. It was therefore ordered by the king that the tax in *kāśu* assessed to be due as *kaḍamai* from this land till the 18th year of reign, should be remitted and that the excess land should be included in the garden, thus making it 80 *mā* of land in all. From that date the said sacred garden measured 80 *mā* in extent.

III

We have seen above that the new argument has failed to prove the existence of two kings, as did the others suggested earlier.

Let us now take into consideration some of the records that have been attributed to the first king (if there were two) and show the incorrectness of such an ascription. For this the position of S'ōḻakōṉ may be reviewed first. Kāḍavakumaraṉ *alias* Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṉ was the son of Kōpperuñjiṅga. The description of Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṉ in No. 480 of 1902 as the hero among the warriors that was held in high esteem by all, who was a mighty thunderbolt to all heroes; who had carved his king's *vāgai*, *kuṟaṅgu* and *vijayam* on the hill of Naṉṉaṉ; and who was the Gāṅgēya who marched in the van of the rutting elephant forces of Āṭkoṇḍadēvaṉ of long spear used in waging battles, shows unmistakably that he was the commander-in-chief under his father Kōpperuñjiṅga, and that he was doubtless identical with the younger brother of S'ōḻakōṉ who were both generals under Peruñjiṅga. It is in conformity with this that we find that S'ōḻakōṉ the elder among the two was associated with the king from A.D. 1230 and issued royal orders in the first part of Peruñjiṅga's reign (up to his nineteenth year) while the younger brother performed a similar function in the latter half of his rule right up to the last known regnal year of Peruñjiṅga. The name of this valiant younger son of Peruñjiṅga is spelt in two ways, *viz.* Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ and Vēṇāḍuḍaiyāṉ.

In the face of such clear and definite expressions as *ivaṉ magaṉ*, *tambi* and *piḷḷai*, it is futile to press expressions like *mudali*, *perumāḷ piḷḷai* etc. as evidences against their being treated as the sons of Kōpperuñjiṅga. *Piḷḷai Aras'ūruḍaiyāṉ*

Perumāl Pillai alias *S'ōḻakōṇār* mentioned in his 8th year record from Chidambaram makes clear the distinction between *Perumāḷ Piḻḻai* and *Piḻḻai* and shows that the term was not one of endearment but meant 'son'. The term Mudali or Mudaligaḷ need not confuse one for the sons of kings and chiefs were almost invariably the leaders and commanders of the armies of their fathers.

Of the many records attributed to the time of the earlier king, three are important, they are (1) Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, (2) Tiruvēdipuram and (3) Vailūr inscriptions.

The first is more or less a song of the achievments of Kōpperuñjiṅga and his son Vēṇāvuḍaiyāṉ. And the facts that this son of Peruñjiṅga figures in a record of Rajarāja III dated in A. D. 1246 and in the 34th and 36th year of the reign of Kōpperuñjiṅga *i.e.* in A.D. 1279-80 show clearly that the record belongs only to Kōpperuñjiṅga of accession date A.D. 1243.

The Tiruvēdipurm record is clear in its account of the capture and imprisonment of Rājarāja III, and to the subsequent release of the Cōḷa King through the interference of the Hoys'aḷa generals. It recites that the villages where Kōpperuñjiṅga and S'ōḷakōṉ were staying were destroyed, and that when the generals of Kopperuñjiṅga were put to death, the horses of S'ōḷakōṉ were seized. From these it is clear that the reference in this record is definitely to Kōpperuñjiṅga of accession A.D. 1243 and mention of S'ōḷakōṉ is decisive on this point.

The Vailūr incription has rightly been clubbed with the Tiruvēndipuram incscription. It records the capture and imprisonment of the Cōḷa King, who was none other than Rājarāja III, at Teḷḷāṟu, along with his ministers and the annexation of a portion of the Cōḷa terriotry by Peruñjiṅga. Whether the Cōḷa King had been imprisoned by the Kāḍava Chief twice (at Teḷḷāṟu and and Sēndamaṅgalam) or not, it is clear that as the Tiruvēndipuram record refers definitely to Kōpperuñjiṅga of accession date A.D. 1243 the Vailūr epigraph must certainly refer to him and none other.

We may note in parenthesis that the inscription of the 14th year of Rājarāja III, A.D. 1230 which records a gift of one of the military commanders (*Agambaḍi Mudalis*) of Pallavaṉ Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ, also clearly confirms the truth of the existence of

only one Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ, and the ommission of the name Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ which the earlier chief chose to prefer on his accession, as is evidence by the Sēndamaṅgalam inscription of his fifth year, or for the matter of that even his other name Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ by which he is popularly represented in the earlier inscriptions, in this record is greatly significant. It establishes that Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ *alias* Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ did not have the name Kōpperuñjiṅga.

Finally, it must be noted that what strikes everyone as peculiar and improbable from the beginning, is that both the father and the son would get the same names Aḻagiyas'īayaṉ and Kōpperuñjiṅga, if the theory of two kings of that name were true, while the inviolate practice obtaining in the land from times immemorial is that grandsons are named after grandfather and never sons after the fathers. This was specially the case in the Pallava dynasty.

Thus all the arguments so far advanced for establishing the existence of two Kōpperuñjiṅgas, one related to the other as father and the son, do not stand the evidence of facts and that all the available evidences prove conclusively that there was only one king by the name Kōpperuñjiṅga.

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THE VELANĀTI CŌDAS*

By Y. VENKATARAMANA, M.A., B. Ed.

THE Velanāti Cōdas belonged to a dynasty of local chieftains or viceroys that played an important part in the history of the Telugu country in the 11th and 12th. centuries A.D. A brief history of this line of chiefs was outlined by the late C. Veerabhadra Rao Garu [1] and Dr. M. Rama Rao [2]. Earlier than these a discussion of the genealogy of this dynasty was made by Dr. Hultzsch [3] but it may be observed that much that belongs to this dynasty has yet remained unsaid and some problems connected with their history are not yet definitely solved. Some of these concern the origin of this family, the nature and extent of their rule.

Origin :—Both epigraphic evidence and tradition support the view that they belonged to the fourth caste or *Caturthānvaya* whereas the Telugu Cōlas trace their descent from the Kṣatriyas, invariably mentioning Karikāla Cōla. In spite of the existence of numerous inscriptions, it is nowhere mentioned that the Velanāti Cōdas are connected with Karikāla. The rule of the Cōlas existed in Kammanādu, Pākanādu and Rēnādu. They had their capitals at places like Kotyadona and Pottapi. The common mention of Karikāla as an ancestor and the tracing of the descent from the Sūrvayamṣa kings lead us to believe that they were connected with Ikṣvākus that ruled in the Telugu land in the third century [4]. The Velanāti Cōdas ruled also the same area as was ruled by other Cōlas. Still there was no connection between the two except the fact that they adopted the suffix of "Cōda" at a later stage. This is proved by the following facts mentioned in almost all inscriptions.

1. The Velanāti Cōdas and other Cōlas ruled contemporaneously with varying boundaries in the same area or in close neighbourhood.

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* Paper read at the 11th All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad, 1941. (History Section).

1. *Andhrula Caritramu* Part I Ch. 15.
2. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. V—2. P. 65.
3. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. P. 32
4. Jouvean Dubreuil; *Ancient Hist. of the Deccan*, P. 83,

2. The Velanādu chiefs helped Trilōcana Pallava as against the Cōlas who always prided themselves on the fact of destroying him.

3. The absence of any common titles among the Velanāti chiefs and other Cōlas.

On the other hand, there is more weighty evidence to show that these Cōdas were descendants of the Pallavas. This theory is supported by the following arguments.

(*a*) The Pallavas held sway over the land of Velanādu which was included in the Vēṅgi kingdom.

(*b*) The Pallavas were not Kṣatriyas and the Velanādu chiefs also were not.

(*c*) Great help was rendered to Trilōcana Pallava by Malla, one of the Velanādu chiefs [5].

(*d*) In the genealogical list detailed by Dr. Hultzsch, we find the mention of the names of Buddha and Viṣṇu, names familiar in the dynastic list of the Pallava rulers of Kāñchi.

(*e*) The epithet "Varman" was used by the Velanādu chiefs and the Pallavas *e.g.* Eriya Varman. In course of time, we find the gradual dropping off of this epithet and the adoption of the suffix of Cōda. That also became prevalent only after the tenth century when the Cōla ascendency was at its height, specially in the kingdom of Vēṅgi, resulting from the amalgamation of the Cōla and Cālukya lines in the time of the famous Kulōthunga. Therefore, the view of Mr. K. Bhavayya Chowdary in his recent work Kammavāricaritramu, that they were the same as the other Cōlas does not seem to be correct [6]. The fact was: "They seem to have started their career as chiefs under a Pallava ruler in Sattenapalli Taluk" as suggested by Dr. K. R Subrahmanyam [7].

The extent of their rule: Their early capital was Candanavōlu or Candavōlu in the Guntur District. Originally Velanādu consisted of six thousand villages or the land of *Sastsahasra*. It comprised of a large area of the Sattenapalli and Vinukonda taluks

5. Pithapuram Ins. of Pṛthvisvara. Ep. Ind. Vol. IVP, 34.
6. K. B. Chowdary *Kammaaricaritramu* Vol. I page 101.
7. Proceedings of IX, AIOC, page 744.

of the Guntur District. Even in the time of the Kākatīyas it was known as the land bestowed by Trinayana Pallava south of the river Krishna [8]. In the tenth century Velanādu was under the sway of the Cālukya king Vijayāditya Amma II because in 945—6 in the grant of a village, made in Velanādu, this monarch was mentioned [9]. But by the eleventh century it included practically Kammanādu and stretched beyond the river Gōdavari including Prōlnādu, because in the time of Pṛthvīsvara we find that the Velanāti Cōda rule existed at Pittapuram [10]. An inscription at Siripuram mentions that the Velanāti Cōda (II) constructed Codapatnam and killed Bhima of the Kolanu family in 1160. It was ninety-six miles from the region of the Kondapadamati chiefs [11]. In this connection the identification of Dhanadapuramu may be mentioned. Dr. Hultzsch doubted whether this name was a possible confusion of Dhanyankapuramu or Amaravati [12]. A clue to the correct identification of this place was furnished elsewhere in the editing of an inscription by the same author [13]. It looks as though Dhanadapuramu mentioned in Mancana's *Kēyūrabāhucaritramu* is the same as Divi or Dwipa, a place which was supposed to have been constructed by Kubera [14]. I base this identification on the following points.

1. Dhanada means Kubera. The city of Kubera is Dhanadapura.

2. The connection of Cōdi with Cōda Gonka of Velanādu [15] who ruled over Dhanadapura. The further details of the inscriptions referred to are borne out by other facts such as these ; he had a son Pṛthvi who was defeated by Ganapati, a Kākatīya. The *Nirvacanōthara rāmāyaṇamu* mentions that Pṛthvīsvara was killed by Tikka [16] of Nellore who was under the king Ganapati and helped to restore Manmasiddhi Cōla of Nellore.

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8. Hultzsch, Yenamdala Inscription of Ganapamba. Ep Ind. Vol. III. P. 95.
9. Ind. Ant. Vol. 12 page 91 Sans. and old Canares Ins. CXXVI.
10. Elliott Ins. Vol. I page 191.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV P. 34.
13. Ganapesvara Inscription of Ganapati. Ep. Ind. Vol. III. P. 91.
14. Elliot Ins. Vol. I
15. Ep. Ind. Vol. III. page 83.
16. Tikkana's N. U. Ramayana Canto I Verse 3.

Thus the upper or northern limit is furnished by the places like Dakṣārāma [17] Sarpavaramu and Pittapuramu and the southern limit by Bapatla taluk [18]. The West extended upto Kurnool and the East to Vēṅginādu.

Nature of the Velanāti Cōda rule: These chiefs had fairly better times under the Cālukyas, but attained greater eminence in the time of Kulōthunga Cōla. Though they style themeselves as Mahāmandalēśvaras they were almost independent. The most famous of these rulers was Gonka II. He was not only a great conquerer but an administrator. He had very able ministers and generals to help him in his work. The inscription in the Cōdēś-varasvāmy temple in Nidubrōlu belonging to the year 1132 A.D. speaks very highly of his relation and commander Panda, son of Mallamba, who caused the construction of several temples, choul-tries and tanks [19]. Similarly there was another great minister Kommana [20]. He was the foreign minister of the state, *i.e.* minister in charge of *Sandhivigraha*. Both the master and the minister were devotees of Lord S'iva and at Kommana's instance, Gonka adorned S'iva shrines with golden pinnacles. His kingdom extended as far as Nellore for Nellore is mentioned to have been taken after a battle there [21]. The Velanādu chiefs were specially fortunate in their ministers. Several of them figure in the records of this period. Kommana lived in the time of Gonka II. Another was Gundana of the same family to whom *Kēyūrabāhucaritramu* was dedicated. So the ministry probably also continued by heredity.

The period ranging from the eleventh to the twelfth century seems to be one of religious revival specially of a Brahminical character in this land, as indicated by the interest taken by these chiefs in the construction of Hindu temples.

It was also a period of organised government and sound financial administration. The ministers were always praised for their proficiency in finances and calculations. The literature of

17. No. 675 of S. I. I. Vol. IV.
18. Elliott Ins. Vol. I. page 563.
19. *Ibid.* P. 550.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*

that period reflects the tendency of the times. Gundana was praised as a great Lēkhaka [22]. The only extant Telugu work on mathematics and accounts beionging to the early days is *Pāvulūri Mallana's Gaṇithamu.* The author belonged to Navakhandavāda [23] a place in Prōlnādu, near Sarpavaramu. The work *Kēyūrabāhu-caritramu* contains a number of fables full of practical wisdom something like Pancatantram.

The decline of this dynasty gets merged in the annals of the rise of the Kākatīyas because by the closing part of the thirteenth century we learn that Velanādu and places like Kotyadona passed into the hands of the Kākaytiyas or their allies, like Manmaganda Gopala [24]. But during the period of transition from the Cāḷukyas to the Cōlas and finally to the rise of the Kākatīyas the chiefs of Velanādu exercised real power and established orderly government in a considerable part of the Telugu land. Their power was crushed only, when they were hemmed in on one side by the rising Telugu Cōlas, their constant foes and by the Kākatīyas on the other side.

22. Kēyūrabāhucaritramu Canto I, verse 38.
23. Pithapuram Ins. of Pṛthvisvara. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. P. 33.
24. S. I. I. 204 of 1899.

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BELAGUTTI ARASUS

By S. Ranganatha Rao, B.A. (Hons.)

The earlier history of the Beḷagutti family has been traced by me in Vol. XXXV. pp. 61-71. of this Journal. The further history of the family of Beḷagutti Arasus is now given.

Two branches of the same dynasty are mentioned. The ancestor of the first branch is said to be Rajarṣi Timmapparāya of Ātreyasa gotra. His son Venkatapparāya had three sons, Bola Timmapparāya, Srirangarāya and Dasappa and a daughter Lakṣmamma who was married to Mariyappa Naik the brother of Tirukapparājiah of Goutama gotra, whose father's name is not traceable. Mariyappa belonged to the second branch of the dynasty. Boḷa Timmapparāya born in 1806 A.D. had two sons—Venkatarāya and Puttasvamirāya. Names of the other descendants are given in the genealogical table (Appendix I). Lakṣmamma of the first branch was married to Mariyappa Naik of the second branch and had three sons.

Details regarding pension, date of brith and death, and "*barāward*" of the descendents are noted in the genealogical table which is an extract from the pension record of 1890 and other manuscripts which are yet unpublished.

An extract of the *bārābaluti* register dated 1864 A.D. (year *Raktākṣi*) is given here to confirm that the village of Beḷagutti was given as "*Jahagir*" to the Royal Family. In the "*bārābaluti*" a remark is made in Kannada- -" ಈವರಿಗೆ ಕೆಲವು ದಿವ್ಸ ಜಾಹ ಗಿರ್ರು ಯಿಹಾಚಿಗೆ ಜಪ್ತಿಯಾಗಿ ಜೋಡಿ ೩೮೦ ವರಹಾ ಮುಕರೂರಿನಿಂದ ಹಿಂದಿನ ರುದುರೋದ್ಗಾರಿ ವರೆಗೆ ನಡಿತ್ತು ಯಿದೆ. ಸಂಬಂಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಜಪ್ತಿಯಾಗಿ ಗ್ರಾಮು ಸರ್ಕಾರಿ ತರ್ಫ ಅಮಾನಿಯಿಂದ "— For some time, the village was given as a "*Jahagir*" and later on taken back by the Government. Upto 1694 the village was an "*inām grāma*"—free gift to the Royal Family at Beḷagutti.

OL. Ms no: A. 126 of the Mysore Oriental Library says that these arasus took a force of horsemen from Nagar and assisted Haidar Ali effectively in the capture of the fort of Chitaldroog. When Haidar Ali captured Beḷagutti on *Māgha Suddha* 15. (Year not mentioned) Timmappa and Venkatappa approached him and

requested him to favour them with salaries and also "*inām*". They were then employed in the services of his Government and the grant was also given. It further states that they enjoyed the grant for two years—*Svabhānu* and *Tāraṇa* and maintained a force of two hundred horsemen. Its cost was met by Haidar's government.

Unfortunately an incident took place which enraged Haidar. When Haidar was passing by the village, a horsemen shot a bullet at his horse mistaking him for the enemy, as a result of which he (Haidar) withdrew all grants. Beḷagutti *Pradhān* (minister) Subbiah is said to have narrated the facts of the case to Haidar and to have regretted for the careless behaviour of the soldier.

In the year *Vyaya*, says the manuscript, the government ordered that the arasus should maintain a force of four hundred horsemen whose pay was fixed by the government. This force should help in maintaining peace and order.

Upto 1694, the *jodi* was enjoyed by the arasus continuously for a period of one hundred and ninety years.

An appeal was made to the then government in 1834 A.D. for the renewal of the *inām*, but no reply was received. In 1864, the *bārabaluti* states, that "for the last 62 years the village is in Amānat (in the possession of the government but not forfeited). The fact that Beḷagutti village was given as *inām*" to the descendants of the Royal Family for so long a period as two hundred years is sufficient proof that the arasus enjoyed high prestige at the hands of the kings of Mysore, Nagar and also the British Political Agents during the rendition period. They were not looked upon as mere palayagars.

Secondly, the continued loyalty of these arasus added to their renown as great horsemen which induced, Haidar Ali, Dewan Purniah and others to ask them to maintain a regular cavalry force to aid the State as and when required. At the time of capturing the fort of Chitaldroog and Kodiyalbail these forces played no insignificant part.

Another document in my possession which goes a long way in proving that these arasus were held in high esteem by the

"Jagadguru of S'ri S'ringeri Mutt" is the Srimukha of Srinivasa Nrisimha Svami written from Shikarpur camp. An extract of the Srimukha is given in Appendix II. He addresses Boḷe Timmappanāyaka as "*Srimadrājādhirāja, rājaparamēśvara, Srivīrapratāpabirudānkita Narapati simhāsanastharūda Beḷagutti Boḷe Timmapparāyarige*". These titles of the Royal Family of Vijayanagar are given to Timmappa also showing thereby the recognition of Timmappa by the Jagadguru as a descendant of the Royal Family. The Svāmiji says that he was glad to learn that Timmappa's son's marriage was celebrated. He directs Timmappa to bring a palanquin bow for him to help him for his travelling. This document bears the sign and seal of S'ri Nrisimha Svāmi.

Another document bearing the seal and signature of Colonel Briggs authorises the Beḷagutti chief, Mariyappa, to go unhindered to Bidanūr or Nagar in the Shimoga District and to bring certain things forfeited to the government. To this end, every government employee from the highest to the lowest in the area, is directed to assist Mariyappa. Designation of the officials of the Revenue and police departments throws light on the administrative system of the time—"Sheristedar, Killedar, Kandāchārada, Sheristedar, Hoblidar, Jamedar, Daffedar, Deshmukh, Deshpānde, Nādig, Gouda, Kulkarni, Toṭi, Talāri,—" all these men are expected to assist him in maintaining accounts and also in sending help of men. Should anybody in any village fail to discharge his duty, the village would be held responsible for the failure. This shows the important place given to the arasus of Beḷagutti in the day-to-day administration of Mysore in the rendition period. A publication of this authentic document and also the letter of Dewan Purniah would be very useful in this connection.

Last, but not the least important, is the letter of Dewan Purniah written to Beḷagutti Venkaṭarāyaru and Timmapparāya on *Mārgasira Bahuḷa* 2 (Sunday, November 20th) directing them to send fully eqiupped horsemen with Narayana Rao at Issuru (Shikarpur Taluk).

Mummaḍi Krishnarāja Wadiyar issued a '*rahadāri hukum*' (also in my possession) dated 11th January 1811 A.D. permitting Beḷagutti arasu Bavule Timmappanāyaka and a small force of

infantry and cavalry on the occasion of a marriage at Beḷagutti to go in procession from Mysore to Honnali. No one, says the *hukum*, should obstruct them.

On these grounds, it can be concluded that the arasus of Beḷagutti ruled a kingdom to the South-west of the capital of Vijayanagara in pomp and pageantry for more than two centuries when they lost their kingdom to the Nawab of Bijāpur.

After the loss of their kingdom, they were enjoying the *inām* of several villages including Beḷagutti upto 1694 under the rulers of Nagar (vide *Nagar kaifiyat* of the Madras Oriental Library). Under Haidar Ali they enjoyed the *inām* in addition to regular pay for maintaining a force of 400 horsemen. This is the reason for calling them as "*Kudurerāyaru*"—Valiant horsemen. Later on, their fame faded into obscurity forcing them to live in a poor condition when the sun of Vijayanagar set.

On a clear study of the original records referred to, and also some Marāṭhi documents in my possession, some light is thrown on the administration. The system was called "*Rayarēkha*" as established, by Cheluva Rangappa, the founder of the kingdom. It was divided into different departments *viz*. Revenue, Defence, Agriculture and Police. *Pradhāns* (ministers) looked after each department. Chief minister or *Srēsṭa Pradhān* was the adviser to the king. There were chiefs for each district some of whom became independent like S'ivappa Nāyaka and relegated the king himself to the background. Each district was divided into *tashils* and *tahsils* into hoblis under killedars and hoblidars. Jamedar and Daffedar in the police department are still the designation to the present day.

Most of the subjects were agriculturists by occupation. One-fourth of the produce was to be given by way of tax. Tanks were

kept in good condition. Brahmans and priests were held in high esteem; grants were given to them by kings. Temple grants were frequent, *e.g.* Ballesvara temple, Hariharesvara temple and Isvara temple at Rampura. Many temples, *e.g.* at Ikkeri, Keladi and Harihar—were repaired. The arasus originally S'aivites belonging to Goutama gotra, later followed Viṣṇavaite practices. But like their noble ancestors of the Vijayanagara dynasty, they were great tolerants of all relgions.

There appears to have been a prosperous condition in the kingdom upto the time of the invasion of the Nawab of Bijāpur under Bilan Khan. Another unpublished Marāthi record dated 1803, mentions names of artisans, from which could be inferred that many handicrafts were also in existence.

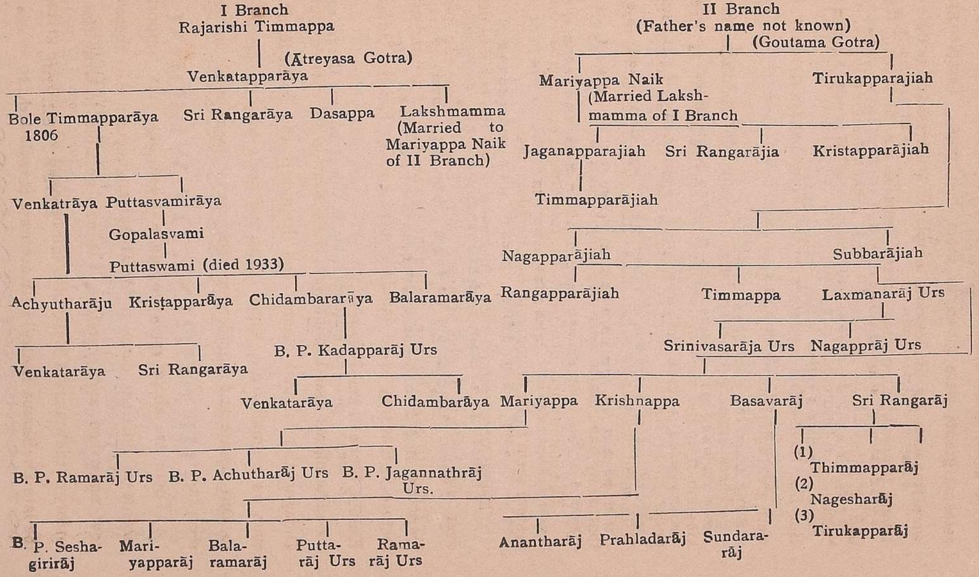
The employment of *Karakuns*, *toṭi*, *talāra* etc. and *bārābaluti* system seem to be in vogue in this kingdom also.

Many more records that could have raised the curtain drawn over the history of this dynasty were burnt when the palace at Belagutti was on fire. All that can be said of art and architecture is that they loved building forts, *e.g.* at Keladi, Udugani, Kumsi, Honnali and Beḷagutti.

During my tour I found that, if excavation be carried out at Didagur the original capital and Beḷagutti the subsequent one even on a small scale, some coins and seals may be discovered to corroborate and supplement the facts mentioned in these records.

There are about eighteen unpublished but very important records of different dates in different langnages. All these are now unearthed and therefore it is now possible to write the full history of the arasus of Beḷagutti, (glimpses of which were given by the late Dr. Shama Sastry) with accurate dates.

APPENDDIX I


I Branch
Rajarishi Timmappa
(Ātreyasa Gotra)
Venkatapparāya
Bole Timmapparāya
1806
Sri Rangarāya
Dasappa
Lakshmamma
(Married to
Mariyappa Naik
of II Branch)
Venkatrāya
Puttasvamirāya
Gopalasvami
Puttaswami (died 1933)
Achyutharāju
Kristapparāya
Chidambararāya
Balaramarāya
Venkatarāya
Sri Rangarāya
B. P. Kadapparāj Urs
Venkatarāya
Chidambarāya
B. P. Ramarāj Urs
B. P. Achutharāj Urs
B. P. Jagannathrāj
Urs.
B. P. Sesha-
girirāj
Mari-
yapparāj
Bala-
ramarāj
Putta-
rāj Urs
Rama-
rāj Urs
II Branch
(Father's name not known)
(Goutama Gotra)
Mariyappa Naik
(Married Laksh-
mamma of I Branch
Tirukapparajiah
Jaganapparajiah
Sri Rangarājia
Kristapparājiah
Timmapparājiah
Nagapparājiah
Subbarājiah
Rangapparājiah
Timmappa
Laxmanarāj Urs
Srinivasarāja Urs
Nagapprāj Urs
Mariyappa
Krishnappa
Basavarāj
Sri Rangarāj
Anantharāj
Prahladarāj
Sundara-
rāj
(1)
Thimmapparāj
(2)
Nagesharāj
(3)
Tirukapparāj

APPENDIX II

Seal

ಅಹೋಬಲ ನೃಸಿಂಹಾಂಘ್ರಿಯುಗಳ..................ಶ್ರೀವತ್ಸಕುಲಸಂಭವಃ etc. etc. ಶ್ರೀಮದಹೋಬಲ ನೃ ತಂಡೀರವರ ಲಬ್ಧಾಂಕಿತ್ತರಾದ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ರಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಶ್ರೀ ವೀರ ಪ್ರತ್ತಾಪ ಬಿರುದಾಂಕಿತ್ತ ನರಪತಿ ಗುರು ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮರಾದ ಶ್ರೀ ಮದಹೋಬಲ ನಲ್ಲಾಂ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸ ನೃಸಿಂಹ್ಮ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಗಳವರು.

ನಂಮ್ಮ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಪ್ರಿಯ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಾದ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ರಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಶ್ರೀ ವೀರ ಪ್ರತಾಪ ಬಿರುದಾಂಕಿತ ನರಪತ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಸ್ಥರಾದ ಬೆಳಗುತ್ತಿ ಚೋಳಿ ತ್ತಿಂಮ್ಮಪ್ಪರಾಯರಿಗೆ ಧನ ಕನಕ ವಸ್ತುವಾಹನ ಛತ್ರ ಚಾಮರಂದೋಳಿತ ಪುತ್ರಪೌತ್ರಾಭಿ ವೃದ್ಧಿಯಾಗಿರುತ್ತ ಬರತಿ ಕಳ್ಸಿದ ಮಂಗಳಾಶಾಸನ ಶ್ರೀಮುಖ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿಕಾರಿಪುರದಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ಷೇಮ ನಿಂಮ್ಮ ಕ್ಷೇಮಾತಿಶಯಂಗಳಿಗೆ ಆಗಿಂಪಾಗ್ಯೆ ಬಿನ್ನವತ್ತಳೆ ಬರತಿ ಕಳ್ಸುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡ್ಸಬೇಕು. ಸಾ| ವಳಗಡೆ ಒಂದು ಶ್ರೀ ಮುಖ ಬರೆದು ಕಳ್ಸಿಯಿದ್ದ ಬಗ್ಯೆ ನೀವು ಬರುತ್ತೇವೆಯುಂದು ಹೇಳಿಕಳ್ಸಿದ್ದಷ್ಟೆ ಸರಿ. ಯಿೂ ಬಗ್ಯೆ ನಿಮ್ಮದರಿಶನ ನಂಮ್ಮಗೆ ಆಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಈಗ ಚಿರಂಜೀವಿ ನಿಂಮ್ಮ ಮಗನ ಲಗ್ನದ ವರ್ತಮಾನ ಕೇಳಿರಲಾಗಿ ನಂಮ್ಮಗೆ ಬಹಳ ಸಂತೋಷವಾಯಿತು. ನೀಊ ನರಪತಿ ಸಿಂಹ್ಮಾಸನದವರು ಯಂದು ಕೇಳಿ ನಂಮ್ಮ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಿಕರು ಸಮಿೂಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಿದ್ಧಾರೆಯೆಂದು ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಬಹಳ ಸಂತೋಷವಾಗಿಯಿದೆ...ನಾಉ ಧಾರ್ವಾಡ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಚಾರ ಹೋಗಿ ಬರಬೇಕೆಂಬದಾಗಿಯಿದೇವೆ. ನಿಮ್ಮ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ವಂದು ಪಾಲಿಕೆ ಕೊಂಬು ಯಿದ್ದರೆ ಯಿಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಕಳ್ಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟಲ್ಲಿ ಪುನಹ ನಿಮ್ಮ ಪಾಲಕಿ ಕೊಂಬು ಕಳ್ಸಿ ಕೊಡುತ್ತಾ ಯಿಧೇವೆ. ಖಾಲಿಯಾದ ಪಾಲಕೆ ಯಿದ್ದಾಗೂ ಸರಿಯಾಯಿತು. sign.........

I desire to express my gratitude to Mr. B. P. Jagannathraj Urs for handing over the original records for my use.

S. R. R.

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STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS — NEW SERIES NO. XII.

The Crow in the Creation-Myth of the Gonds

BY THE LATE PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE Gonds are an aboriginal people living in Central India. There are two and a quarter millions Gonds in British India and over three millions altogether in the whole of India. They are not a criminal tribe, as the record of their crimes is surprisingly low. This tribe was known to the Greek geographer Ptolemy who called the ancestors of the present day Gonds "the leaf-clad Gondali." They have an interesting mass of folk-lore. But their creation-myth is very curious and noteworthy, as will appear from the following abstract*:—

GOND GENESIS

In the very beginning the universe was wholly covered with water. A lotus-plant grew up from the centre of it; and God sat upon a leaf of this plant. One day, God bathed in this water and cleansed his body. From the dirt that was washed out of his body, he created a crow and sent it out to search for something dry. The bird searched and searched for six months but did not find any place to rest upon. At last it came across the great tortoise named Chakramal Chatri who was standing with one foot on the bottom of the sea, its head reaching up to the clouds. The crow sat upon its head and narrated to it the story of the troubles it had undergone in trying to find out a resting-place. Hearing this story, the tortoise sank deep down to the bottom of the sea where it found Nal Rāj and Nal Rāṇi sitting after having swallowed the earth. The crow caught both of them by the neck and compelled them to give it a grain of the earth they had swallowed. The bird sent this grain to God. Out of this grain, God created the earth with the assistance of Pawan Dassorie, the spirit of the wind. In this newly created earth, the *devatas* were born. Thereafter the trees of the forest came into existence. Then the Mother Cow was born. Last of all, man was created. With the advent of man, arose the question of providing him with food. Thereupon Annadeo, who is the masculine form Demeter or Proserpine, came to provide it.

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* For a fuller version of this myth, see the article entitled: "*A Gond Magician*" by Verrier Elwin in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* for Sunday the 6th June 1937, pages 25—65.

Thereafter it was found necessary to offer a sacrifice to Annadeo; and the first sacrifice that was offered to him was that of a child. In those days, the god of food was very fat and strong. But, nowadays, he falls to the ground in fainting fits. Ever since the introduction of railways, this has happened, and the god of food even took a ticket and sat in the train. Now he lives in Bombay and makes the people of that locality fat and sleek, while the poor Gonds go with empty stomachs.

As a result of the study of the foregoing creation myth of the Gonds, I have arrived at the following conclusions:—

(1) In my paper entitled: "*Studies in Bird-Myths*, New Series No. II. *On Birds as Co-operators in Primitive Creation-Myths*", which has been published in this *Journal*, (Vol. XXX. Pp. 240—246). I have shown that birds have rendered great assistance in the creation of the world, as is evidenced by three creation-myths which are current among three primitive American Indian tribes, namely, the Hopis or Moquis, the Hurons and the Californian Indians, and by a fourth cosmogonic myth which is current among the Santals who live in the Santal Parganas of Bihar. The Gond creation myth is another instance in which a bird, namely, a crow is described as having rendered great assistance in the creation of the world.

(2) The next noteworthy point in the Gond creation myth is the creation of a crow by that people's God from the dirt that was washed out of his body. His deityship sent out this crow to search for something dry to rest upon. This incident is parallel to the event which is mentioned in the Hopi or Moqui myth in which the two goddesses are stated to have created a wren from clay and imparted life into it by chanting incantations upon it. Then they sent it to fly over the newly created world and to find out if any living creatures dwelt upon it.

Then there is a similar incident in the creation myth which is current among the Indians of California. In this folk story, it is stated that an eagle and crow created a duck to enliven the monotony of their solitary life and made it dive down to the bottom of the vast expanse of the waters that then constituted the universe. This they did in order that it might bring up therefrom a little

mud in its bill. With this mud brought by the duck, the eagle and the crow erected two heaps, one of which grew up into the mountain range of the coasts of California; while the other heap became the Sierra Nevada of that country.

Then again, in the Santali cosmogonic myth, it is narrated that Thakur, the Supreme Being of the Santals created two birds from the froth of the wide and desolate world of waters which then covered the universe. At the request of these two birds, Thakur created the earth with its trees and shrubs and creepers. On this earth, the two birds built their nest in which the female bird laid two eggs one of which, when hatched, produced a boy and the other a girl who became the progenitors of human race.

(3) The third noteworthy feature of the Gond creation myth is the secondary assistance given by the great tortoise in the creation of the world. When the crow was unable to find any resting place, it came across the great tortoise on whose head it sat and narrated to the latter the story of the troubles it had undergone in trying to find a resting place. After hearing the story, the tortoise dived down to the bottom of the sea where two super-natural beings named Nal Rāja and Nal Rāṇi were sitting after having swallowed the earth. The crow compelled them to give it a grain of the earth they had swallowed. The bird sent this grain of earth to God who created the world with the same. In the Huron Indian cosmogonic myth, it is narrated that the same sort of secondary assistance was given by the great tortoise. When the two aquatic birds or loons were unable to support on their united wings the celestial woman who was falling from the sky, the tortoise came forward and supported the falling woman on its back. Then all the aquatic creatures decided that this woman must have some dry land to live upon. With this object in view, all of them dived down to the bottom of the waters but failed to bring up any the earth. At last, the toad went down and succeeded in bringing up in its mouth a little earth which the tortoise made over to the celestial woman. She carefully spread this mud on the tortoise's shell until it became dry land which gradually grew up into a great country.

Then again, it is stated in the Santali creation myth that similar secondary assistance was given by the tortoise in the

process of creating the world. The tortoise, which is an aquatic animal, was fastened to the bottom of the waters. It is on his back that the earthworm and the centipede heaped up clay and mud which gradually grew up into an island on which the two birds named Has and Hasini built their nest wherein the female bird laid two eggs which, when hatched, produced a boy and a girl who afterwards became the progenitors of human race.

(4) It is a characteristic feature of primitive creation myths that a little bird or reptile or insect obtains or procures from the bottom of the wide and desolate expanse of the waters that then covered the universe, a small quantity of mud or clay and makes the same to some supernatural being who mouldes or creates the world out of or with it. Take for instance the cosmogonic myth of the Gonds of Central India. It is stated there that a crow procured a grain of earth from two supernatural beings who dwelt at the bottom of the wide waste of the waters and made it over to God who created the world with it.

In the Huron creation myth, it was a small batrachian or toad that succeeded in bringing up from the bottom of the vast expanse of the waters a small quantity of the earth which the tortoise made over to the divine woman who created the world with it.

In the creation myth which is current among the Indians of California, it is narrated that a duck brought up from the bottom of the universal expanse of the waters small quantities of mud which an eagle and a crow made up into two heaps that gradually grew into the mountain ranges of California.

Lastly, it is stated in the Santali creation-myth that the earthworm and a centipede brought up mud and clay from the bottom of the desolate waste of the waters and heaped up the same on the back of a tortoise. This heaped-up mud and clay gradually grew up into the size of an island in which the Supreme Being of the Santals planted a tree and some grass. The Santals say that it is on this tree that the two progenitors of the human race were born.

(5) One curious feature of the Gond creation—myth is that after the creation of the *devatas* or divine beings and of the trees, the Mother Cow was created. Here we find a trace of Hindu influence. Among the Hindus, the cow is regarded as an

incarnation of the divine mother, Bhagavatī and is looked upon with feelings of veneration. In the Gond myth, the cow has been described as a mother. This designation appears to be curious. Though this fact is not expressly stated anywhere in the said myth, we may infer that the Gonds also venerate the cow, just in the same way as, among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, the buffaloes are regarded as sacred and, therefore, worshipped. In fact, there is a regular buffalo cult prevalent among them.

(6) Another characteristic feature of these primitive myths is that, in all of them, the universe has been described as having been, in the very beginning, covered with a vast expanse of water. Take, for instance, the Hopi or Moqui myth where it is stated that, in the very beginning, there was nothing but water everywhere and that two spiritual beings lived in their houses in the waters. The same statement also occurs in the Huron and the Californian Indian cosmogonic myths as also in that of the Santals who live in the Santal Parganas of Bihar in Northern India.

In the Gond creation myth which forms the subject matter of this paper, the very same description of the primæval universe has been given and it is stated that, in the very beginning the whole universe was completely covered with water and that there grew up from its very middle a lotus plant on a leaf of which the god of the Gonds sat.

(7) The last curious feature of the Gond creation-myth is the mention of the food problem which arose after the creation of man by God. It is stated that Annadeo, the god of food, arrived on the scene and solved this problem by providing the newly created mankind with food. For this act of benevolence, the primitive men or the Gonds found it necessary to offer his deityship a thanks offering by sacrificing to him a child. This incident is unique, as we do not find any analogue of it in the cosmogonic myth of any other race or people in any other part of the world.

(8) The crow which has been referred to in this myth as having rendered secondary assistance in the creation of the world, appears to have been the progenitor of the common Indian House-Crow (*Corvus splendens*) which is now found all over India. The crow also played a similar part in the cosmogonic myth of the Californian Indians.

Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā.—Edited by Mahamahopadhyāya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A. Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 14. Price. Rs. 1-8-0.

THERE was a time when not much authentic information was available to the ordinary student of Indian history concerning the Vākāṭakas. Research during the past fifty years has made much progress in this direction and shed more light on the history of this dynasty. The inscription in Cave No. XVI at Ajaṇṭā was first noticed by Dr. Bhau Daji in J B B R A S Vol. VII Page 56. It was next edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India, Archæological Survey of India, 1881, in which Pandit Indraji noticed the names Rudrasena and Harisena, additional to the names of the Vākāṭaka Kings Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasena and Devasena and of their minister Hastibhoja and Varāhadeva noticed by Dr. Bhau Daji. But when Dr. Bühler edited the record for the third time in the Archæological Survey of Western India Vol. IV in 1883, he gave two more names, Prithvīsena and Pravarasena II. The recent discovery in 1930 at Basim, of a copper-plate grant of the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti II, threw further light on the history of the southern branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. This also necessitated the re-editing of the Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā and at the request of Mr. Yazdani, Director of Archæology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, Mahamahopadhyāya Prof. Mirashi of the Nagpur University has re-edited this inscription, published in this special monograph. The record alludes to the dedication to a Buddhist Sangha of a cave dweling containing a Buddhist temple and a hall, beautifully decorated with pillars, picture galleries and sculptures. However, its main interest lies in the Vākāṭaka genealogy from Vindhyaśakti the founder of the dynasty, to Harisena the fifth king of the line, which it furnishes. This undated inscription is incised on the left side wall at the extreme end outside verandah of Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā and it has suffered considerably owing to exposure to weather. Some lines and a dozen etters have been lost, besides other incidental damages. The

characters are of a box-headed variety of the South Indian alphabet, familiar to the readers of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. The language is Sanskrit and metrically composed throughout, containing thirty-two verses. Varāhadeva, minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harisena, dedicates a cave dwelling to a Buddhist sangha. It is undated but perhaps could be assigned to the end of the fifth century A.D. Vindhyaśakti is described as a purāṇic figure and as a Brahmaṇa who became renowned on earth as a conquerer. His son Pravarasena I is glorified. His lotus-like feet were kissed by the rays of the crest-jewels of hostile kings : he was an emperor and *samrāt* (his grants are found in the Central Provinces) : he performed four *Aśvamedhas* and several Vedic sacrifices such as *Agniṣṭoma*, *Aptoryāma*, *Ukthya*, *Śodaṣin*, *Atirātha*, *Vājapeya*, *Bṛihaspatisava* and *Sādyaskara* : and belonged to Viṣṇuvriddha gotra. His son's name is unfortunately lost.

Prof. Mirashi says, rightly I think, that the reading of the royal name by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. Bühler was incorrect and he regards that the poet did not commit a mistake as the inscription was composed under the direction of the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harisena but very correctly wrote the whole. Therefore, on this basis, judged from the copper-plate inscription of Basim (I H Q. XVI and XVII—1939, Pp 455 *et seq* belonging to 285 A D. issued by Vindhyas'akti I) the inscription must be of Sarvasena. Then, Pravarasena was succeeded by his son Sarvasena. It may also be observed that the next verse contains an indication that this king Sarvasena won a victory over the lord of Kuntala. Regarding verse nine the identification of Bühler is again not accepted for reasons given by Prof. Mirashi. [Cf. Proceedings of VIII All India Oriental Conference, P. 613, for Pravarasena I, Dudia plates *Ep. Ind.* III, and Balaghat plates *Ep. Ind.* XXII. for Pravarasena II, and also the Poona plate *Ep. Ind.* XV, Bēlorā plate *Ep. Ind.* XXIV and the Kothuraka plate under preparation and New Indian Antiquary : Vol. II p. 178].

On page 7 is given the complete genealogy of this Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family which must be distinguished from another branch of the Vākāṭaka family, after their separation, subsequent to the reign of Pravarasena I.

According to the purāṇas Pravarasena I had four sons all of whom were kings. They, apparently, divided his extensive kingdom after his death. If Gautamiputra, his eldest son predeceased him and Rudrasena I, son of Gautamiputra, succeeded Pravarasena I, then the genealogy given on page 8 would follow. A close study of this genealogy will establish that there need no further be any doubt about the relations of Pravarasena II belonging to the Gautamiputra branch which can well be called the Nandivardhana branch and Devasena of the Vatsagulma branch. The incorrect readings of the records were hitherto responsible for the supposition that the Vākāṭaka family had remained undivided till the end of the reign of Pravasrasena II and branched off afterwards. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar felt that Narendrasena, the father of Prithvīsena I, was a brother of the Vākāṭaka prince whose name is lost in verse 10 of the present inscription while Dr. Jayaswal identified Narendrasena with the later prince. If, as found now, the two branches separated long after the reign of Pravasrasena I, it is clear that Devasena and Harisena belonged to lines different from that of Narendrasena and Prithvīsena II. According to the late Dr. R. D. Banerji, Prithvīsena II was succeeded by a brother of Narendrasena whose son was Devasena whose son was Harisena. Rudrasena II, as the Prabhavatigupta grants show was the son-in-law of Candragupta II (A.D. 380-413). He must have ascended the throne by 400 A.D. *i.e.* approximately towards the close of the reign of Vindhyaśakti II of the Vatsagulma branch. The editor on this basis is of opinion that Vindhyaśakti I, the founder of this family must have risen to power by about 250 A.D. and he places Harisena about 475 to 500 A.D. It is noteworthy that Fergusson and Burgess should have assigned Cave XVI to about 500 A.D. on the evidence of the style of architecture (*Vide.* Cave Temples of India. Page. 306).

The importance of the monograph to students of Indian history is very great and all are greatly indebted to Mahamahopadhyāya Prof. Mirashi for this scholarly publication.

S.S.

A Manual of the Pudukkottai State. Vol. II, Part II (Second and Revised Edition)—Edited by K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar. Published under the authority of the Pudukkottai Durbar.

THIS volume is part two of the second volume of the second and revised edition of the Manual of the Pudukkottai State, the earlier volumes of which have been reviewed in these pages and is excellently edited with Bhavyas in the Sittannavasal Frescoes as the frontispiece and the Sundareśvarar and other temples as illustrations. The Gazetter comprises Ālaṅguḍi, Koḷattūr and Tirumayam taluks with a statistical appendix. The supplement to the manual contains an account of what the Durbar has done for the ryots. The Revenue Department attends to innumerable things for the ryots' benefit, including the assignment of land and grant of remissions. Improvement for irrigation sources costs so much as five lakhs of rupees and an equal amount is spent for repairing damages caused by floods and for other relief works. *Kuḍisvāmiyam*, the land value, of the state lands assigned to ryots for cultivation, has been abolished. Wells have been dug, new roads constructed, a rural improvement officer has been appointed, handicrafts have been encouraged and attempts are made to control soil erosion and silting. Amongst public utility concerns, electric current is being received from the Mettur-Pykara scheme, Joint Stock Companies are encouraged, Local Self Government institutions liberalised. Under history, the history of the Muttaraiyars, vassal generals, has been constructed showing that they assumed surnames of their Pallava over-lords and that their rule came to an end with the capture of Tanjore by the Cōḷa Vijayālaya. The discovery of four Irukkuvēḷ inscriptions on the basement of the Mucukundēśvara temple, recently excavated and others give additional information about the chronological history of the Velirs.

His Highness Sri Brahadambā Dās Rāja Rājagōpālā Toṇḍaimān Bahadur was invested with full ruling powers on Monday the 17th of January 1944 in the old palace. We are confident that peaceful progress and development and a liberalised, reformed rule consistently with the genius of the people, transcending apathy and narrow jealousies will make a new era under the Mahārāja's enlightned administration.

S.S.

Central Asian Fragments of the Ashṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā and of an Unidentified Text. Memoirs of Archæological Survey No. 69. —By Dr. Sten Konow. Published by the Manager of Publications, New Delhi. Price Rs. 2-8-0 or 4 Shillings.

IN this memoir Dr. Sten Konow very rightly claims the discovery in the three out of the four Sanskrit manuscripts in Khotanese Brahmi bought by Mr. (Sir George) Macartney from Badr-ud-din, the Ashṭādaśasāharikā believed to have been irretrievably lost and hitherto only known from the Chinese (by Hieūn-tsang, 659 A.D. according to Bunyo Nanjio's catalogue) and Tibetan (Oslo copy of the Kanjur) Asian fragments, ranging from the second to the ninth century, while the Tibetan translation follows a later Ashṭāsāhasrikā as in the case of two other Sāhasrikās, *viz.* the Pañchavimśati and the S'ata. The Doctor finds Professor Helmer Smith's translation of a fragment recovered by Seven Hedin in Khotan as belonging to the Aṣhṭādas'a class, though the text is shorter than that of the Tibetan translation.

The Chinese translation of the Das'a by Ci-leu-ciā-chān in 179 A.D., the Sinologists' assertion that the Chinese originally gave the title Das'a to the Ashṭā, the Badr-uḍ-din's manuscript of the Ashṭādas'a—all these lead the Doctor to infer that these three Prajñāpāramitās existed in the second century as independent works derived from an earlier Ashṭā. He shows the points of agreement and difference among the five classes of Prajñāpāramitā literature and maintains that the Ashṭā rather than the S'aṭa was the original from which the other enlarged each in its own way by working into them details not found in the Ashṭā, becoming fuller and more prolix as one passed from the Ashṭādas'a to the S'ata through the Pañchavimśati.

There is yet another factor enhancing the value of Dr. Konow's contribution. Besides identifying the manuscript fragment published in the Memoirs of Archæological Survey of India No. 32 (Fragment of Prajñāpāramita Manuscript from Central Asia) in 1927 by Pandit B. B. Bidyabinod as the Ashṭādas'a, it completes his incomplete leaves from the Badr-ud-din's manuscripts without exceeding the limit of the portion as judged from Bidyabinod's

remarks. It must be said in passing that Bidya binodnoticed a close resemblance in the subject matter and phraseology between his manuscripts and portions of the S'aṭasāhasrikā published by the Asitic Society of Bengal and that he was careful enough to stress that the latter was but an expanded version of the former though without giving reasons for his conclusion. Thus he left the credit of identifying his fragment as the Ashṭādas'a to Dr. Konow and filling up the missing portions by the help of the Tibetan Ashṭā-das'a. His edition of the Central Asian folios inserts Bidyabinod's leaves in their propes places and gives references to the published Tibetan Ashṭādas'a and Sanskrit texts of the Ashṭā, the Pañchavimśati and the S'aṭa.

As regards the folios of the fourth manuscript in corrupt Sanskrit bought of Badr-ud-din he simply reproduces them in transliteration without correcting the language and without being able to identify it. While he is definite that it does not belong to the Ashṭādas'a class, he hints its possibility of its coming under the S'aṭa class judging from the high numbers 748 and 764 of its two folios.

Students of oriental literature keenly look forward to the identification of these two folios and the discovery of the Sanskrit version of the Das'asāhasrika by way of completing the otherwise incomplete vast Sanskrit Prajñāpāramitā literature.

P. S. L.

The Pañchālas and Their Capital Ahichchhatra—By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph. D., D. Litt., F.R.A.S.B. Memoirs of the Archæological Survery of India No. 67. Published by the Manager of Publications, New Delhi. Price Rs. 2-12-0 or 4sh. 6d.

WITH his usual meticulous care Dr. Law has compressed within the narrow compass of this memoir all the references and cross references that can be gleaned from all sources—the Hindu, the Jaina and the Buddhist—on the fascinating subject of the Pañchālas and their capital Ahichchhatra. The ample material collected by him from the works of the orientalists and the inscriptional and numismatic records of Āshāḍhasena and the Mitra kings, his map

of ancient Pañchāla and adjacent territories, and his helpful surmises touching the identification of the country of Pañchāla and its northern and southern capitals, Ahichchhatra and Kampilya are some of the other features enhancing the value of his book to Indologists.

A wide and wise use of this digest of detailed ready reference may pave the way one day for an Indologist gifted with a keen historical insight to give a closely connected and authentic account of ancient Pañchāla.

Because of an absence of any reference to Pañchāla in the hymns of the Rgveda as its text was admittedly fixed and arranged by Gālava Bābhravya, the author of the Kramapāṭha, it does not seem safe to find a parity with its non-mention in the Aśōkan R. E. XIII and to infer that Pañchāla might not have been a separate kingdom during the Ṛgvedic period. The surrounding circumstances in the two cases are entirely different. If reliance be placed on the plain statements in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, the tribes that inhabited the land were in ancient times called the Krivis and the Keśins (the people of Kes'in Dālbhya) respectively. The derivation of Pañchāla in the late Vedic literature from the five ancient tribes is but an indirect admission that they were renamed under one general name of Pañchāla. The Midland is described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* as the home of the Pañchālas along with the Purus. In the case of the edict Pañchāla has no room as it had long ceased to be independent having been destroyed and annexed to the kingdom of Magadha by Mahapadma Nanda. It did not thereafter recover its independence except for two brief spells, the one between 840 and 910 A.D. under Bhoja and his son, and the other in the twelveth century under the Gaharwar kings.

The Paurāṇic derivation of Pañchāla relates to a later attempt to rename the land of Vedic Kuru-Pañchālas, which was given at that early period to emphasise the bitterness of a persisting nature that existed between two neighbours, the Kurus and the Pañchālas. The family of the five princes among whom the land was allotted is Kuru according to the Viṣṇu and Agni Purāṇas and non-Kuru

according to the Bhāgavata and the Vāyu purāṇas. The Mahābhārata is the story of the triumph of the Kurus over their avowed enemies, the Pañchālas. Drupada's defeat at the hands of Drona's young Kuru prince-pupils hastened the doom of the Pañchāla ruling house and its people.

There seems to have been a similar renaming of the capital of Uttara-Pañchāla by Saṁkhyāvatī, Parichakra (Pāli *Chakka-Pañjara*), Ahichchhatra and Adhichchhatra, at different periods. Its location is likewise differently stated in the Mahābhārata and the Jaina Vividhatīrathakalpa. Kuru-Jāṅgala of the latter seems to have been bifurcated by the time of the epic into Ahichchhatra and Kuru-Jāṅgala as these two are mentioned by name in that work.

The history of ancient Pañchāla seems to fall into three distinct periods, namely, the one covered by the post Ṛgvedic literature, when Kraivya, Soṇa Sātrāsāha and other powerful kings performed the aśvamedha and rājasūya sacrifices showing their leaning towards the Vedic religion and culture, the second of the conflict between the Kurus and the Pañchālas, between other neighbours like Videha and the Pañchālas, and the third the Buddhist period when Pañchāla was counted as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas down to at least a century after the Buddha's *mahāparinibbana*.

When in future Indian history is reconstructed from these materials it will in no small measure be based on the labours of Dr. B. C. Law.

P. S. L.

Marāṭhā History (Re-examined) 1295—1707. By S. R. Sharma, M.A. Karnataka Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 10.

THE aim of the author is to review the several sources relating to the history of the Marāṭhās and interpret them properly. The story of the Marāṭhā nation is also carried on along with a criticism of opposite views. Indeed, this is a difficult achievement for which the author deserves congratulation; for the interest of the story is not affected by the intrusion of this exegetical element.

The theme of the book is the fortunes of the Marāṭhās from the fall of the Deogiri Yādavas to the rise of Sāhu Chhatrapati. The Yādava Kings come in, deservedly, for severe strictures for

their sacerdotalism and their blindness to the contemporary political conditions. The work of the saints of Mahārāṣtra in regenerating the then moribund soul of the people has been properly emphasised with a wealth of detail. The pioneering work of S'āji for the advent of Śivāji is also noticed and brought to light. The chapters relating to Śivāji will be read with great interest: more particularly for differing from the views of J. N. Sarkar, such as the Javli incident. It is well-known that J. N. Sarkar pays greater regard to the Persian sources and treats the Marāṭhī sources as less reliable.

Sāmbāji's career has been fully appreciated: his faults not exonerated, nor his epic fights with the Portuguese under-rated as done by J. N. Sarkar. The final chapter narrates and assesses the achievements of the Marāṭhās under S'ivāji and his immediate successors.

The book is of enthralling interest on account of its forceful narration no less than for its sound scholarship. A detailed bibliography at the end of the volume has greatly enhanced its utility. V. R. R.

Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore—by the late Rai Bahadur P. Sundaram Pillai, M.A., F.M.U., M.R.A.S., F.R. Hist. S. First Edition 1894, Second Edition 1943. Edited and published by the Author's son, P. S. Natarajan. Copies can be had from The Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Ltd. Tinnevelly and Madras.

Archæology and Ancient Indian History—by Jñānaratna Dr. Hīrānanda S'āstrī, M.A., M.O.L., D. Litt. Published by The Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 3—0—0.

BOTH these volumes deal with the recontruction of history from inscriptions and similar contemporary sources. Rai Bahadur P. Sundaram Pillai was a pioneer in this field in Travancore. He gave the results of his researches in three lectures in Trivandrum in 1894 on the 24th and 31st of March and on the 7th of April of that year and founded the school of Travancore savants, of whom Messrs. K. G. Sesha Iyer and K. G. Shankara Iyer have so liberally contributed to the Journal of this Society. "The wit and eloquence of the lectures" keep them fresh even now. Though

Mr. Pillay's career was cut short shortly afterwards and he could not develop the work further, the lectures deserve wide study as they evidence the methods of criticism, analysis and reconstruction of history from surviving authentic records. He pleaded earnestly and effectively for the exploration, preservation and study of these records. "When the political history of the country, of the history of the unquestienably ancient Royal Dynasty itself, we know so little, it is no wonder that we should know less...... archæology. But how long are we to remain in this lamentable, if not disgraceful, condition of ignorance?.........Traditional beliefs, ways, and manners are dissolving like spectres in the air......... A host of historical temples with valuable inscriptions are fast going to ruins.........Observe now or never." This call did not go unheeded. And Travancore soon had its archæological department.

The second of these volumes is by the retired Government Epigraphist for India, who subsequently presided over the Archæological Department of Baroda and the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery. The lectures are published nearly half a century after Mr. Sundaram Pillai delivered them and they relate also to the West Coast of India. In this half century, antiquities secured by excavation of ancient sites have enriched the archæologist. And Pandit Hīrānanda S'āstrī to whose labours we owe the monograph on Nālanda which we are reviewing separately, has drawn largely on these riches, in the able lectures he delivered before the Research and Post-Graduate Department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society on the 17th of November, 1st and 8th of December 1940 and 5th of January 1941.

His plea for increased work on excavation and research is equally insistent and manifests the wide field yet to be covered. His lectures indicate also how year by year new data come to light illumining dark, obscure or hidden episodes of the past and the actors of bygone days.

"Ample material exists. We have simply to collect and work it out assiduously and dispassionately." Tradition, contemporary accounts (local and foreign), archæology and literature are the sources of all history, The author deals with the third and applies this method to important monuments of Gujarat and

Kathiawad as an example and instruction to workers. Nālanda forms the subject of another lecture as an illustration. Sources of cultural history—literature—are also laid under contribution in the fourth lecture.

The following extract from the Arab Geograpeer, Al-Idrisi, about the Court of Jayasimha and his state affords refreshing reading at the present moment :—

"The city is frequented by a great number of Musalman merchants who resort to it for business. They are well received by the King and his officers and find protection and security. The Indians by nature are inclined to justice. Their good faith, loyalty and faithfulness are well-known.........As a proof of their love of honesty, if a creditor is anxious to receive a debt, he has only to draw a line round his debtor who will not move till he has satisfied his creditor or the debt is paid.........They have great respect for cattle; and bury them when they die; when they get past work, they feed them."

We read also in Tawrika-i-Sarath of the Queen of Gujarat, Naiki-Devi, "who fought the foe, taking her infant son in her lap" and whose heroic deeds won all round admiration for Gujarat.

The illustrations form a valuable addition. The two volumes are useful preparatory study for aspirants to historical research.

A. V. R.

Upadeshasāhasrī—A Thousand Teachings of Sri Sankaracarya. Translated into English with explanatory notes by Svāmi Jagadānanda. Published by the Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

UPADESASĀHASRI is the thousand teachings of Sri S'aṅkara now translated with explanatory notes by Svāmi Jagadānanda. He has used all available sources, and has given both in verse and prose with the text. The idea of the distinction between oneself and one's body, mind etc. which, when rightly comprehended under the benevolent guidance of a teacher—a man of knowledge—will perfectly convince one that one is not other than the unlimited bliss untouched by hunger and thirst, grief and delusion, old age and death, the only real existence, the goal of all human beings to be realised in life, will

be clear. The means to liberation for the benefit of those aspirants after liberation and who have faith in liberation is expounded in chapter one. The subject should be a pure Brāhamaṇa disciple who is indifferent to everything that is transitory and achievable through certain means, who has given up the desire for a son, for wealth and for this world and the next, who has adopted the life of a wandering monk and is endowed with control over the mind and the senses, with compassion etc. as well as with the qualities of a disciple well-known in the scriptures, and been examined in respect of his caste, profession, conduct, learning and parentage, who has self-control and a tranquil mind, and has approached the teacher in the prescribed manner. The knowledge of Brahman revealing the imperishable and the Eternal Being might be imparted to him. Right knowledge is called the raft. The disciple who has thus learnt the definition of the inner self from the *Srutis* and the *Smṛtis* will be eager to cross the ocean of transmigratory existence. The *Srutis* show the transmigratory existence as the sure result of the acceptance of the reality of difference. That liberation results from the acceptance of the reality of non-difference is borne out by thousands of *Srutis*. While the ignorance is uprooted with the help of the *Sruti*, *Smṛti* and reasoning, the one-poined intellect of the seers of the supreme truth becomes established in the one self which is of the nature of pure consciousness like a homogeneous lump of salt, all-pervading like the ether, which is without interior and exterior, uniform, and is within and without. Even the slightest tint of impurity due to the diversity of ends, means, evolution, dissolution and the rest is, therefore, not reasonable. The knowledge of the changeless and non-dual self is expounded in chapter two and chapter three is a repetition of chapter two along with the text of verses. Further, metrical verses are given with their translation in English and index to slokas in Sanskrit in part two. The book deserves to be in the hands of all lovers of ancient scriptures.

S. S.

Nārada Bhakti Sūtras—By Svāmi Thyāgiśananda. Published by the Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Price 2-8-0.

SVĀMI TYYĀGIS'ANANDA, the well-known head of the Ramakrishna Math in Bangalore, whose exposition of the Bhagavad Gita

many of us have listened to with rapt attention, has given in this book the aphorisms on the Gospel of Divine Love with the Sanskrit text, word by word meaning, English rendering of the text and elaborate explanatory and critical notes, which originally appeared as a series of articles in the Vedānta Kesari. The English translation is faithful to the spirit of the original rather than to the letter. Attempts are made to elucidate the text from all possible view points, to note down the syntactic sequence, to canvass the sense of the various significant expressions, to evaluate the doctrine in the light of allied literature, and to answer the doubts and objections which are likely to arise with the various points discussed. The work is a mine of information on almost all matters connected with religious and spiritual life. As the publishers have mentioned, Nārada Bhakti Sūtras are a sacred, precious jem, a complete and a thorough guide book, an indispensable companion, for all sincere seekers after God and the divine life from the start of their spiritual ascent to the very summit of it. Sri Ramakrishna has emphasised that for this *Kaliyuga* the path of devotion as described by Nārada is indeed the best and the easiest. The immortal divine bliss is the birth-right of all and therefore Nārada admonishes even ignorant men to strive for it, leaving aside allurements of sense life: instructs the seeking aspirant about the methods by which he may attain to the goal: heartens the seekers after the Divine with the shining example of the perfect devotees; and assures and gladens all by his own experience and example how the Master and Lord of all the universe is ever to confer upon the earnest and one-pointed lover of God His unconditioned grace, by the power of which he attains freedom from *Samsāra* and eternal bliss. The perfect man is a divine instrument and in him meet *bhakti* and *jñana*. He might look intoxicated or mad. In *bhakti* the mind naturally renounces sense pleasures: in *kāma* it gets engrossed in them. Being therefore of a contradictory nature *bhakti* cannot be equated with *kāma*. There are many cases of famous figures in religions history like Prahlāda, Dhruva, Naciketas, Kaṇṇappar, Jesus, Ramakrishna and Dayananda who showed signs of spiritual enlightenment even from boyhood. All activities that have for their motive *dharma*

and *mokṣa*, the highest ends which man alone is capable of pursuing, may be broadly considered as Vedavyāpāra. Education, culture, philosophy, religion, art, morality, social service, and the rest when pursued for *dhārmic* ends come under scriptural duty thus conceived. The activities cannot be stopped : they can only be dedicated for the purposes of God realisation and divine service by an entire surrender of the individual soul to the Divine (Cf. Bhagvad Gīta III-5-8; XVIII-5-9; III-30; XVIII-57; XVIII-66). In a perfected man sublimation is effected by the withdrawal of the instincts from their natural field of action and by the redirection of their energies towards the *paramātman*, who is the support of all. Love of God never ends in sloth or idleness. A true devotee will dislike only such works as are hostile to divine love; but with the energy thus saved by the abandonment of undesirable works, he would vigorously perform others that are favourable to and consistent with devotion. Nārada gives the description of *bhakti* as obtained before him. S'aṅkara describes the real nature of one's own self, and says that we have *bhakti* when the thoughts approach the feet of the Lord and stick to them permanently, as the seed approaches the ankola tree, an iron needle the magnet, a virtuous wife her husband or a creeper a tree. Rāmānuja identifies *bhakti* with loving meditation. Jayatīrtha says that *bhakti* is an incessant flow of love preceded by the knowledge that God is possessed of unequalled, unsurpassed, infinite auspicious qualities, which exceed one's love to oneself, one's relations and belongings, which is not retarded by a thousand troubles or difficulties. To Sāṇḍilya *bhakti* is supreme love of God, and Svapneśvara says that love results from the greatness of the Lord. Yamunacarya speaks of the vision of God as *Parabhakti*; union with Him as *Parajñāna* and fear of separation from Him as *Paramabhakti*. The view of Nārada points out the very essence of *bhakti* and the rituals, of chanting the sacred *mantras* or *nāmas* and of similar activities that are strictly called devotional. Complete self-surrender is the prime characteristic of *bhakti*. Among examples in historical times Nammāḷvār, S'rī Caitanya and S'rī Rāmakṛṣṇa may be mentioned. It is interesting to observe that the true nature of Gopi's love for Kṛṣṇa is artistically portrayed in the language of human love liable to be

misunderstood by the vulgar as the true nature of it is very different. The thought was never absent from the mind of the Gopis that Kṛṣṇa was not a man but a Supreme Being. (Cf. Bhagavad Gīta XI.-12). The intellect is found to be active in cognising the glory and majesty of God. *Parabhakti* or the highest spiritual realisation is something more than all these, although all these too incidentally result from such realisation, and it does not constitute the result of any spiritual practice, but is a mere manifestation of some inexplicable ineffable experience of the natural perfection of the soul. The attainment of supreme bliss is not something which comes by mere self-effort, but is a gift from God, and thus it points to the element of divine grace in spiritual realisation and Nārada blesses all so that they may have the grace of God, and through that grace realise supreme bliss, by gaining which there is no possibility of birth and suffering in *saṁsāra*. S. S.

Selections from Swami Vivekananda. Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Price Rs. 8—0—0.

THIS happy set of selections from the works of Svami Vivekananda is most opportune. It is now a little more than half a century since this great ambassador of renascent India took the wide world by storm at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago. As stated by Sister Christine, he was, "a wanderer from another sphere; who brings with him to this sorrowful world some of the glory, the power, the radiance of a far distant region......a pilgrim, a stranger, who tarries but a night......He never forgets who he is, whence he came, or what the purpose of his coming is......a being beyond all comparison, for he transcends all ordinary standards and ideals."

His message is appropriately printed in the frontispiece:— "Each soul is potentially divine. The goal is to manifest this divinity. Do this by karma, bhakti, rājayōga or jñāna, by one or more or all of these—and be free. This is the whole of religion." In his address to the Parliament of Religions he spoke of the tolerance and universal acceptance of the Indian mind: "I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and

the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth ;" he recited the parable of 'Frog in the Well'; thanked America "for the great attempt you are making to break down the barriers of this little world of ours;" described the genius of Hinduism for synthesis, for "sect after sect arose in India and seemed to shake the religion of the Vedas to its very foundations, but like the waters of the sea-shore in a tremendous earthquake, it receded only for a while, only to return in an all-absorbing flood, a thousand times more vigorous, and when the tumult of the rush was over, these sects were all sucked in, absorbed and assimilated into the immense body of the mother faith," and hailed Columbia, motherland of liberty ; and "it has been given to thee *to march at the vanguard of civilisation with the flag of harmony*."

Of the genius of India and her future he says: "In religion lies the vitality of India. To the Indian mind, there is nothing higher than religious ideals......Brahminhood is the ideal of humanity in India......The whole work is to raise the Chandala up to the Brahmin......The solution of the caste problem assumes this form, not degrade the higher castes, not to crush out the Brahmin. Being of one mind is the secret of Society सहनाववतु सह वीर्यं करवावहै .... Give up being a slave. *For the next fifty years this alone shall be our keynote*.......Let us wipe off that mark which nature always put on the forehead of a slave, the stain of jealousy.......Until you pacify hunger, no one will welcome words about religion. India is restless with the thought of how to face the spectre of hunger....... First of all, you must remove this evil of hunger and starvation, this constant thought for bare existence.......We believe Advaitism is the religion of the future enlightened humanity. Yet practical Advaitism, which looks upon and behaves to all mankind as one's own soul, is yet to be developed among the Hindu universally.......If ever the followers of any religion approach to this equality in an appreciable degree in the place of practical work-a-day life, it is those of Islam and Islam alone. For our own motherland a junction of two great systems—Vedānta brain and Islam body—is the only hope."

The trumpet voice goes forth "Man is potentially divine. Religion is the manifestation of the divinity in man.......Man feels,

consciously or unconsciously, that he is bound. All religions are attempts to get beyond nature; all have but one object, all are trying to get beyond limitations. All are struggling for freedom....... Rituals are the kindergarten of religion.......This universe is only a gymnasium in which the soul is taking exercise; and after these exercises we become gods. So the value of everything is decided by how far it is a manifestation of God. Civilisation is itself the manifestation of that divinity in humanity. Knowledge exists; man only discovers it.......Education is the manifestation of the perfection already in man. True religion never changes. Religion is realisation. It is being and becoming. The Vedānta is the *rationale* of all religions. Without the Vedānta every religion is superstition; with it everything becomes religion. There is but one basis of well-being, social, political or spiritual, to know that I and my brother are *one*. According to Advaita, the same divine nature is present in the lowest worm as well as in the highest human being. Out of this comes the basis of morality. Do not injure another. Love every one as your own self. In injuring another, I am injuring myself; in loving another, I am loving myself. From this also springs that principle of Advaitic morality—self-abnegation....This little personalised self is the cause of all misery. When this idea (individualised self) has been got rid of, all struggle ceases, all misery vanishes.... Even in this life, he will feel that he is one with the universe. The one theme of the Vedānta philosophy is the search for unity.......The progress of the Hindu race has been towards the realisation of the Vedāntic ideal.......Within fifty years the educated of the world will come to believe in the eternity of both soul and creation and in God as our highest and perfect nature, as taught in our holy Vedas."

His call for work is insistent. "Karmayoga is the attaining through unselfish work of that freedom which is the goal of all human nature. Every selfish action, therefore, retards our reaching the goal and every unsefish action takes us towards the goal; and that is why the only definition that can be given of morality is this:—*That which is selfish is immoral, and that which is unselfish is moral*.......Even the least work done for others awakens

the power within; even thinking the least good of others gradually instils into the heart the strength of a lion."

The whole books teems with inspiring thoughts for India and the world of today.

A.V.R.

The Evolution of Indian Mysticism.—By Diwan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. Published by the International Book House, Ltd. Ash Lane, Bombay.

DIWAN Bahadur Ramaswami Sastriar is a well-known student of Indian classical literature. A worthy son of a worthy father, he is the author of many books some of which have been reviewed in these pages and this work suggests the path to that imperial palace whence we came. Man goes through various stages in life and is born and reborn again. Whither and for what purpose, is it because of the divine spark in him, if so, who is responsible for the wickedness and misery in this world and for the havocs of the atomic bomb or the death-ray? Are all these discoveries of science a prompting of the human heart and is the religious basis of life an empty dream? What is the difference between the saint doing penance seeking realisation with the absolute and the atheist, or the agnostic or the non-religious man or the commercial tractor working the way for the pyramid of plenty as if like a bloating and ascending balloon, if both are to be victims together to the blinding flash of an electric current generated by man or as the result of a thunderbolt or due to the effects of bombing or gassing? Is life all *māya?* Is there no reality? It is a mystery. Ramaswami Sastriar says that mysticism consists in the spiritual realisation of a grander and a boundless unity that humbles all self-assertion dissolving it in a wider glory, quoting Picton. If we feel that God is the core of our own being and is immanent in us and in the world, while transcending both, a new sense of companionship comes to us and we feel the intimacy of a new communion and the bliss of a new union. The perfect life would be a life of perfect communion with other souls, as well as with the soul which animates the universe. Hence, if, as the Gita says, God dwells in every man and is the innermost glory and bliss of our being, there is no reason whatsoever to despair. As Eckhart puts it, by virtue of eternal principles of my birth I belong to every age, I am and

I shall remain in eternity and the purpose is that man must become God to know God. In Mysticism God ceases to be an object but becomes an experience. Therefore, blessed are the pure in heart, for they can see God. Science cannot be considered to be antagonistic to mysticism. There are many things in both which have to be discovered, for mind is even more elusive and invisible than matter and enters into any theory of matter. Matter and mind are part and parcel of the eternal *śakti* and force manifestations. If energy is a mode of solar power mental energy is of a higher order for it comprehends and measures and evaluates even atomic energy. Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Sastriar gives an account of mysticism outside India. To Aristotle God is the unmoved mover, to the master mystic Plotinus God was the deepest reality in nature and in man. The Jewish Rabbis and the apostles of the New Testament carried forward Jesus's rich and vivid consciousness that he and his father are one to the mystical tradition of the middle ages. To Shelly, Wordsworth, Woolman, Emerson and Whitman the mystic mood had persisted throughout, and by it -

'The heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligble world
Is lightened'.

Thomas A Kempis's imitation of Christ is one of the best books of Christian mysticism and teaches us the splendour of mystical experience which is shining in perpetual bright clearness. Coming to early Indian mysticism he feels that the Āryan culture was as much Indian as any other culture including the Dravidian culture with which it blended long, long ago for the Bhagavad Gita and Bhāgavata without any encouragement from the Dravidian culture or contribution thrill and quiver with the raptures of *prema* and *bhakti*. Mysticism is the certitude where we can commune with divinity. The concept of Godhead and the concept of union with God are of a lower and more limited order in the Karma Kānda than in the Jñāna Kānda, (*cf.* Chapter 2 Verse 46 of the Bhagavat Gita). The union of the soul with the oversoul is yoga. *Bhakti* and *jñāna* are equally important to the mystic *sādhanas*. In the medieval ages the Hindu mysticism flowed in two great streams: one carried the early

mystical tradition as enriched by the *purāṇās* and the *āgamas* and the other carried forward the ancient tradition; while the Sufi mysticism as well as the orthodox Ismalic tradition which insisted on God being above form and on there being no barrier between man and man developed another aspect. Ramananda, Kabir, Ravidas, Bhavananda the disciple of Ramananda, Nanak and Tagore might be mentioned. Faizi translated the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and some Vedāntic texts into Persian for the benefit of Akbar and Abdul Fazal helped his brother Faizi in the translation of the great Sanskrit epics. It is well-known that Akbar's theology was the most liberal description and as Tennyson suggests the perfect description of Akbar's spiritual passion and vision was:—

> " There is light in all,
> And light, with more or less of shade in all
> Man-modes' of worship."

I have mentioned elsewhere in my review of Lallavakyani by R. C. Temple about Hammadani. This work is of such a great interest that one gets lost in it and how one wishes in his zeal and interest that the author had written more and still more. As Sri Ramakrishna says " when the rose is blown, and sheds its fragrance all round, the bees come of themselves. The bees seek the full-blown rose and not the rose the bees." S. S.

Selected Speeches and Addresses of Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D. Dewan of Travancore. Edited by P. G. Sahasranama Aiyar, M.A.

A VERSATILE genius, a brilliant scholar, top-rank lawyer, publicist, administrator, accomplished gentleman and above all a distinguished statesman of modern times either in British India or in Indian States comparable in every way with Sir Sheshadri Aiyar or Sir Visvesvaraya, in many respects far excelling them, liberal in out-look, grand in achievement and successful as a reformer, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, brings to bear on the administration of Travancore the rich harvest of experience gained from the many-sided activities of a remarkable career. More than thirty-five years ago when he delivered a lecture on French Renaissance in the Pachiappa's College Sir Sankaran Nair who presided remarked of

the ease and familiarity of Ramaswami Aiyar with French literature which excelled as it were his remarkable knowledge of the Common Law of England or the complex Indian Land Tennures. A busy practitioner who restlessly attended every meeting connected with the political activities of the time or of Banking concerns of which he was a director, Sir Ramaswami Aiyar was ever found of an early morning ready to advise and work for his client. In the great confusion that followed the internment of Beasant on the altar of Home Rule, Ramaswami Aiyar left aside the lawyer's role for the editorship of New India making a sacrifice worthy of the cause. The reward came in due course. Nothing did he lack, things came to him unwanted,—honours and renown and he was a prize boy of the British administration. In England his talents and ability would have made him the Prime-minister, perhaps, a successful rival to Churchill. As for administrative ability or legal attainments, the political reforms newly adumbrated, the Travancore Bank, the solution of the temple entry problem and the compulsory education scheme are sufficient tributes to the remarkable pursuits of a sound administration.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we seek to review the Selected Speeches and Addresses of Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, rich in thought and culture and couched in unexpectionable English and in a remarkably literary style, to be expected of a modern product of the finest culture of the East and of the West. It is interesting to observe that the editor of these Speeches and Addresses is one who like the reviewer was drawn to Ramaswami Aiyar's lectures and arguments of cases in Madras and elsewhere.

The lectures are on varied topics. His European literature as it strikes an Indian is full of thought and feeling in which we find that Sir Ramaswami Aiyar first started English then Sanskrit and Tamil, French, little Italian and some German. It may be wished that one had the revolt of Byron or the reaching out to the clouds of Keats but in Sanskrit literature whether in *Anuṣṭup* or any other metre, the form of the verse is thorough, complete, perfect, and without any sign of revolt associated with European literature. The next one on the Art of Dance was delivered on the occasion of

the inaguration of the new building of Sri Chitrodaya Nartakalaya. On The Function of a Modern University he delivered an address at the Third Annual Convocation of The Travancore University in 1941 wherein he has reviewed the progress of universities under different systems including ancient Indian universities like that of Nalanda. He seems to encourage a departure from the ordinary pattern of Indian universities. Our history and culture need conservation, and for fellowships of cultured peoples there can be no greater aim than to wend our way together, to speak with one voice and that in unison. World Forces and Superstate is another subject which attracted his attention on 29-12-39 when the blazing war had just them started. Next on S'aṅkara. He started his expedition at the ages of 16 and 20, went to Badrinath, Srinagar, Dvāraka in Kathiawad, to Puri in Jagannath and to the far south. From Mysore he proceeded to Kañchi and throughout this journey he controverted, disputed and triumphed in carrying on his gospel with him. He was able to find time to write some of the most exquisite poems in the Sansk̦tit language unrivalled in diction, in imagination and in outlook and was able to produce some of the most wonderful and subtle analyses of the manifestations of the human mind and mental processes, and bring into actuality the *advaita* doctrine, one of the greatest problems of human life. The intellectual and spiritual achievement of S'aṅkara has made a deep impression on the history of world thought and on many religions and cults. Hinduism is a great golden umbrella which shelters many approaches to the divine under which there is space for the doubter, the *Cāruvaka*, for the pursuit of a personal God, for the renunciation of everything including personal Godhead and the identification of the supreme self with one's self which is synonymons with Vedānta. It is this great and golden umbrella that has sheltered all forms of thought and speculation and is still standing unfluttered against those batterings and shatterings which have affected other forms of thought. Its stability is due to the work of S'aṅkara and it was given to him to reconcile in his *bhāsyas* all aspects and he has sought to give an explanation which compared with the actualities of life and at the same time they reach above and beyond them to a synthesis typified in the four *mahāvakyas*

of the upaniṣads identitfying the universe with the self that is both within and beyond it and explaining existence and death and action by the theory of *māya*. Hinduism is a self-expression, a self-determinative idea of what may be called the glorification of all that the spirit and the body stand for and all that the mind and the soul can expect at the highest altitude.

Of the many great men Sir C. P. has met he assigns a very high place to one who had definite ideals although narrow and who achieved them, *viz.* Kemal Pasha, for he abolished the Khalifat, set about making people modern-minded in the real sense and made Turkey great. He was content with a limited Turkey, for he reconstructed it.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar describes Lord Haldane as a great lawyer, as a philosopher, essentially a great man, great in every sense. He was a man who amidst obioquy and criticism made his mind to see that England should be strong navally and worked for it without caring for public recognition. His was the life of a man who amidst persecution kept his torch burning, the torch of power, of fervent patriotism, of sustained scholarship and of sustained true philosophy devoted to great and noble ends. Dr. Nansen, the Arctic explorer, Lloyd George, Lord Reading, Sir Austen Chamberain, Lord Wellingdon were some of the greatest men he met abroad. In India itself the greatest whom he met was Svami Vivekananda. India, when it was evolving the Vedas and Upaniṣads was great in arts, in culture of all types, in painting and in architecture. Indian civilisation was unique in this respect that not arms, nor wealth, nor power but learning and poverty were regarded as the hall-mark of greatness. Svami Vivekananda infused that modern outlook and approach by which India would do well to profit and joined up the triumphs of the West and of the East in a new India in which he had to live and rebuild a new life. Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, responsible for the hydro-electric enterprise in Mysore, was a realist in every sense and a profoundly religious man. Lord Curzon was the chief archæologist of India and the restorer of the Ajaṇṭā Frescoes. Gopalakrishna Gokhale introduced the habit of close study and reasoning in the practice of politics. Mahatma Gandhi from whom he differs and whom he regards as

responsible for much of the spiritual and political obscurantism of today is one the great men of India and a true yogi often produced in India bringing great good though equally often a disturbing and reactionary influence. Mahatma Gandhi is one who has done more to raise the self-respect of India, to make the Indian name more honoured than almost any other man during the last fifty years.

We wish many years of excellent service to the country by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

S. S.

Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library.

Vol. I. Nos. 1, 2 and 3. Annual Subscription Rs. 4-0-0.

THE Royal Family of Travancore and the rulers that Travancore had in the illustrious past are all great patrons of Sanskrit learning and music, many of whom have exhibited great merit and composed works of literary taste. About twenty-one thousand manuscripts of Sanskrit works some of which have already been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series were collected by these patrons of literature. In order to publish these works in quick succession the Travancore University has started this Journal, particularly to publish minor works of well-known authors and other works of authors less known to the literary world. The Journal also intends to publish in course of time works of technical nature with critical and literary studies.

Of the several instructive and interesting contributions to the journal published so for may be mentioned the following :

Padmanābha Ṣataka of H. H. Sri Svāti Tirunal Rāmavarma Mahārāja (1829-1847 A.D.)

Mukunda Ṣataka of Rāmapaṇivāda, where Lord Mukunda is described from head to toe contrary to the usage of Mallinātha who remarks thus :

देवतानां रूपं पादाङ्गुष्ठप्रभृति वर्ण्यते मानुषाणां केशादारभ्यैति धार्मिकाः ।

Sringara Sudhakara Bhāṇaḥ and Kārtavīryarjuna Vijaya Prabhanda of H. H. Sri Ās'vina S'rī Rāmavarma Yuvarāja (1756-1794 A.D.). One notices in the *Bhāṇaḥ* the omission of *vīra rasa.*

Matsyavatāra Prabhanda of Nārāyaṇa Bhattari—Tradition ascribes that Nārāyaṇa composed the famous Nārāyaṇiyam which cured him of rheumatism.

Godavarma Yaśobhūs'aṇa of Aruṇagiri—A work on Alankara S'āstra on the model of Pratāparuda Yośobhūs'aṇa.

Kamalini Rājahamsa of Pūrnasarasvati—We are familiar with two of his works, *viz.*, Vidyukata, the commentary on Mōghasandeśa and Rjutagiri and Mālatī Mādhava Katha.

Mēghasandeśa of Kāḷidāsa with the commentary of Sumanoramani of Ṛṣi Putra Parames'vara. The author is said to have written another work called Nyāya Samuchchaya (*cf.* commentary on the the fifth sloka). There is no *mangala sloka* in Mēghasandeśa but the commentator says that the words, *Rāma* and *Janakatanaya*, occuring in the first sloka is to be taken to be the *mangla* of the work quoting this sloka from Raghuvamśa.

राम इत्यभिरामेण वपुषा तस्य चोदितः। नामधेयं गुरुश्चके जगत्प्रथममगलम् ॥

(Raghuvams'a. 10—67).

Advaita Rasamanjari of Sada S'iva Brahmendra.

All these works possess a high literary merit. The University of Travancore deserves to be congtatulated on the undertaking of the noble task of publishing these wroks. We wish very many years of useful service from this journal.

M.B.N.

NOTES

Double Stars

By Rao Sahib N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M.A., L.T.

I have read with great interest the fine contribution on "The Double Stars" by Sri Narayaniah in the pages of this Journal (Vol. XXXV. Pages 214-223). He refers to *As'vinī*, *Vaṣistārundhatī*, *Tris'anku* and *Punarvasu*.

The story about the *As'vinī* is that when Sanjnā left Sūrya, leaving only her shade *Chhaya*, with Sūrya, unable to bear the splendour of the deity, she was sent away by her father Visvakarma. She then did penance as a mare in Puṣkara. Sūrya found her out and in the form of a horse approached her. Then came the *As'vinīs* from the nostrils of Sanjnā. As they were born on earth, they could not be regarded as gods. Through Cyavana they were admitted to the status of the devas and they were ordained to precede the Sun's chariot and announce the birth of each day before daybreak, at *aruṇa-udaya*. Being twins they appear in the sky among the *tāras* as one double star with the horse-face. They received instructions in the Upaniṣads from Dadhyanac, the son of Atharvan, and gave him a horse-head when his head was cut off by Indra. They are recognised as twins plus one, *i.e.* three stars in the sky. Their birth is associated with the churning of the milky ocean, as this took place at the creation. As the lessening of the light of Sūrya by Visvakarma took place soon after, they are made the harbingers of the dawn of the day, when creation started a new *kalpa* for humanity. These three facts have to be read together to get the significance of the *Aśvins* whose story is a very interesting episode in Vedic and purāṇic history.

There is a fundamental difference between the double star *Aśvinī* and the double star *Vaṣistārundhatī*. The distinction is indicated in making the *Aśvinī* twin brothers and *Vaṣistārundhati* husband and wife. I have heard a somewhat different interpretation of this double star. I have seen the star through our college telescope here (Anantapur). We locate *Vaṣista* easily, as the middle star in the tail of the Great Bear. To see *Arundhatī* we have to wait and observe around *Vaṣista*. She just comes and

goes before our view at different points. She is serving her lord and we have to strain our eyes to see her, — the type of *pativratā dharma*. *Sthūlārundhatī nyāya* means that, as when we wish to observe *Arundhatī*, we have to be guided by a *sthūla* (clearly seen) object near it, so to realise Brahma, the attributeless, we have to take the help of seen objects, which have attributes. The stars are, therefore, symbols to us of the undivided family union.

Triśanku is at the South typifying audacity in penance as *Dhruva* in the North, typifying austerity.

Punarvasu is spoken of only as a group of five stars. The group is seen like an arc on the sky. I have not seen these two as double stars. I have understood *Punarvasu* as a second sun, it being such a brilliant set of stars, associated with S'rī Ramacandra, the star most recommended for *Punarādheya* or the rekindling of the fire for *yagña*.

However, it is indeed interesting to note that the *ṛṣis* observed double stars ages before our scientists saw them. They must have certainly had telescopes. Though we may say that they had super-natural vision and needed no physical telescopes, yet I think they had telescopes. In my youth I saw a sort of heavens-observing mechanism and a mechanism to indicate time by the Sun's movement turned up towards the Sun in the courtyard of the house of Brahmasri Sundaresvara Sroutigal, who, together with Venkatesvara Dikshitar, both at Tiruvadi, edited the *Dṛg Gaṇita Panchangam*, which is being now continued, by his grandson, after his father Sri Visvanandha Sroutigal, who was a District Registrar and died only a few years ago. When I myself cannot recollect these instruments, I do not know if the young grandson possesses these correct instruments of swadesi make or knows anything about them at all.

People now-a-days may not believe we had science as much as philosophy and literature in those roomy days of *tapas* and *yagña* and *yōga*. But we have increasing evidence to show that our land was the seat not only of literature and philosophy but also of science in its best forms. When Dr. Nagaraja Sarma poohpoohed the idea of Dr. Lakshmipathi connecting an atom bomb with *yoka śakti*, I thought I was too little a man to cross swords

with the favourite of 'The Hindu'. Atom is *Aṇu* or Brahma and atom bomb is *Brahmāstra*, let off not with Uraniam etc. but with the sacred *mantrās*, not for the wholesale massacre of innocent populations, but to stop wars which became too terrible even for the gods to bear. *Brahmāstra* was the last word in war. We have yet to live to know more and more of the wonders of our Vedic culture. To avoid the danger, we indulge in abusing the Vedas and Sanskrit. Recently I have given a collection of the names of the scientific weapons and instruments known to our ancients to a friend of mine who is a science lecturer in a Government College now. I dare say young men of that type will reveal the great facts of our past glorious culture, which I am sure, will be dubbed as nonsense, if they emanated from people of my type who are too orthodox to be credited with the possession of a scientific frame of mind, let alone capacity to compromise modern science with Vedic culture.

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